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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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By Maximilian Godefroy

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

March · 1957

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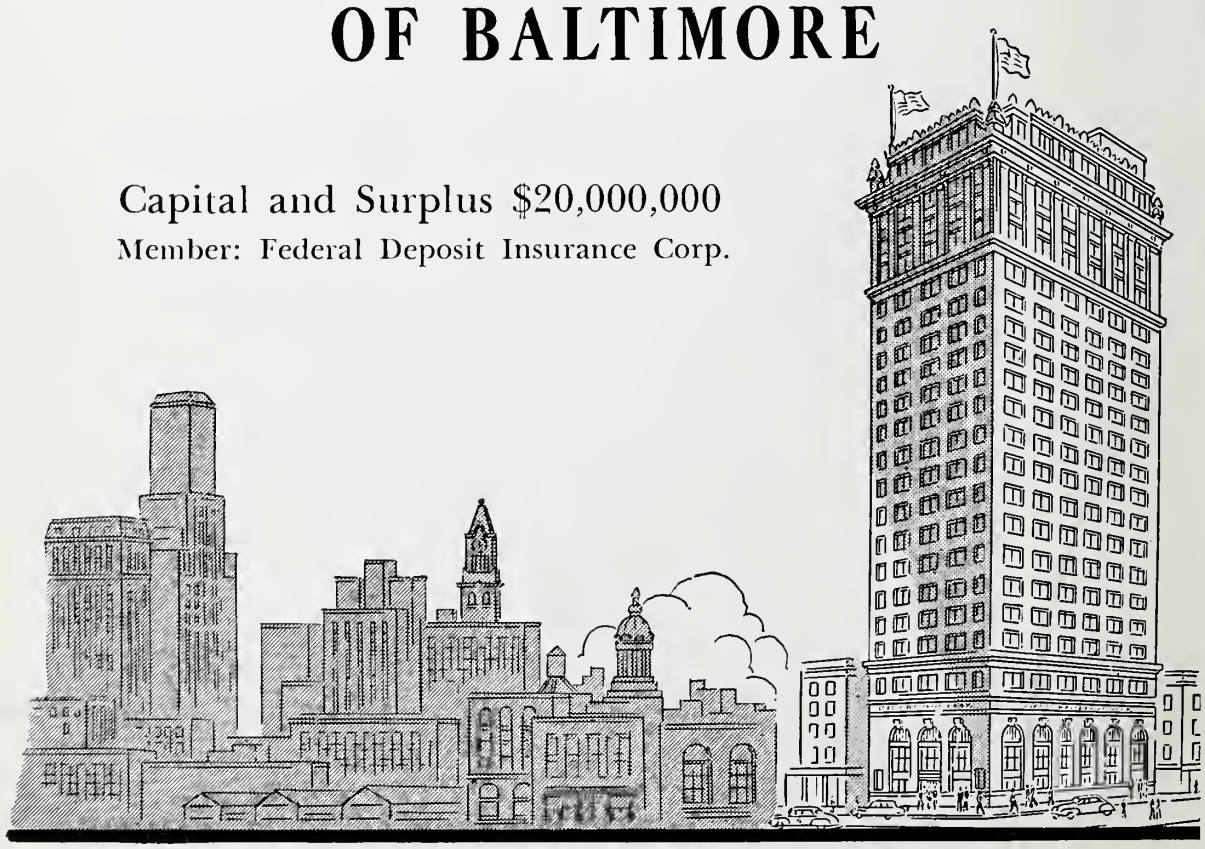

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For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

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COVER

The original sketch in water color of St. Mary's Chapel by Maximilian Godefroy is owned by the Maryland Historical Society. The plan was modified in execution. The tower was not built, brick was used instead of stucco, and the statues were never placed in the niches.

Annual Subscription to the Magazine $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building

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1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are $8 and up, life membership $150. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

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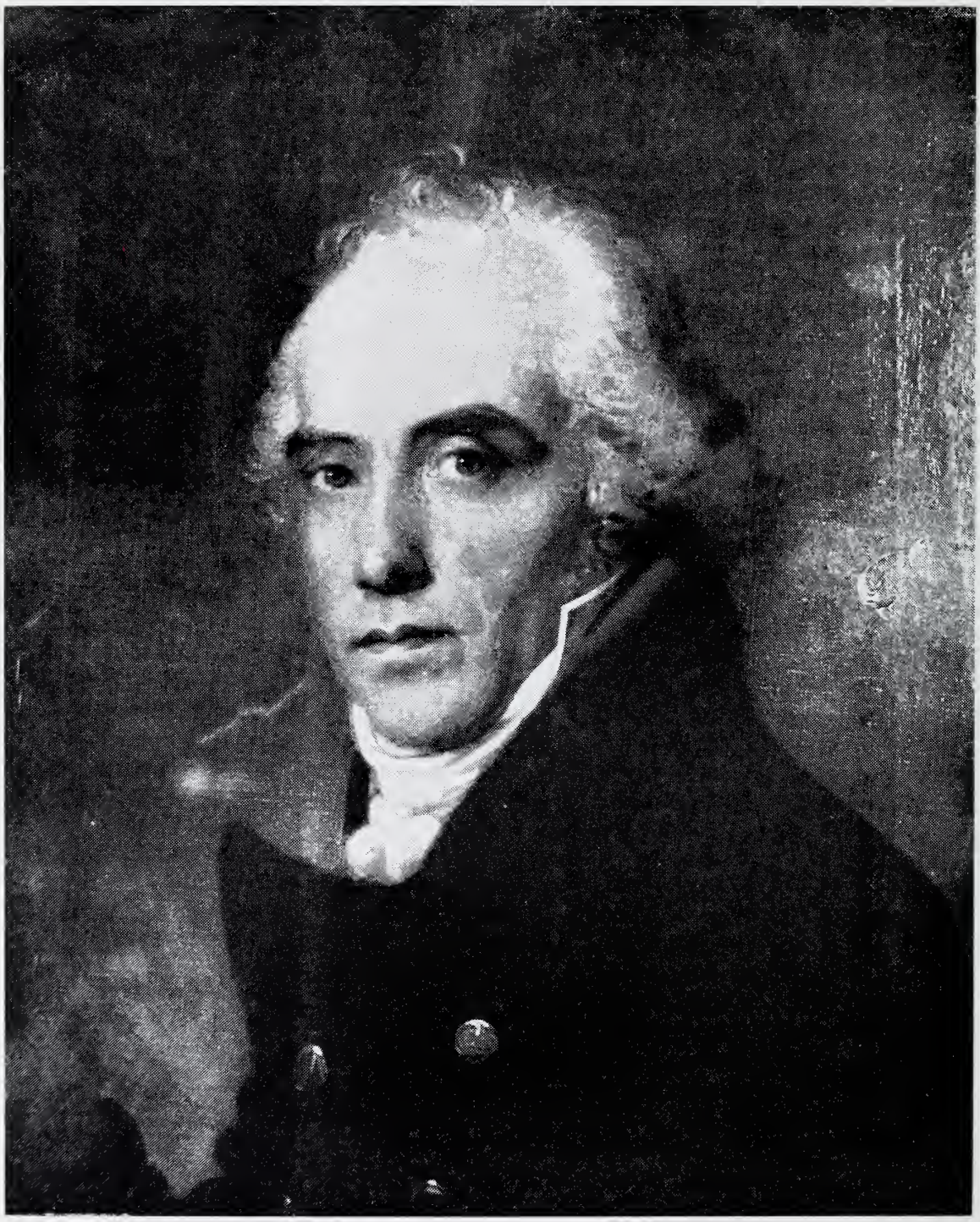

MAXIMILIAN GODEFROY

Oil Portrait by Rembrandt Peale. Owned by the Peabody Institute, on loan to the Maryland Historical Society.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 52 MARCH, 1957 Number 1

MAXIMILIAN AND ELIZA GODEFROY

By Dorothy Mackay Quynn

WHEN the ship *Ceres* pulled away from the Baltimore wharves on August 27, 1819, she carried among her passengers a bitter and disappointed family en route to England, and, they hoped, to a change in their fortunes. They were Maximilian Godefroy, the French architect who had lived and worked in Baltimore, his wife, née Eliza Crawford, and her daughter Eliza Polly Spear Anderson, born of a former marriage. Scarcely had they started down the Bay, when the daughter fell sick, died, and was buried in a hastily dug grave on the shore.[1] The *Ceres* proceeded on her voyage and eventually reached England. The story of the troubles of the Godefroys was well known in Baltimore in their day, and it has attracted some attention in our own.

[1] A detailed account of this tragedy appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 27, 1819.

However, until recently there have been few documents available to give us details, and these had emanated chiefly from the Godefroys themselves, with their version of the story. New documents now make it possible to get a balanced picture, but they tend to lessen the degree of sympathy which has hitherto been lavished on this interesting couple.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published three articles on the story of the Godefroys, two in 1934 and one seven years later.[2] All three deal primarily with their later life, but Miss Davison included a summary of Godefroy's architectural achievements in America and a brief statement of the literary production of Eliza Godefroy. No effort was made by the authors to investigate French sources, except for one inquiry to the Mayor of Laval, the city in France where the Godefroys spent their last years together, nor is there a record of their having undertaken any searches in the Archives Nationales in Paris, the Departmental Archives at Rennes and Laval, and the Archives of the General Staff of the French Army at Vincennes. Hoyt and others have used the Warden papers in the Maryland Historical Society, and his article, the third of those mentioned above, is based on letters in this collection. No one had used the most revealing of all the sources, the letters of Eliza Godefroy and of Edward Patterson to Madame Patterson-Bonaparte in the Bonaparte Collection at the Maryland Historical Society. Upon discovery of these letters, the present writer investigated French sources, and can now supply a somewhat different and more complete version of the story.

From Miss Davison's study, and from the records of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, we know that Eliza Crawford, daughter of the famous Dr. John Crawford, had married Henry Anderson in Baltimore on October 23, 1799,[3] and that they had a daughter, Eliza Polly Spear Anderson, born October 24, 1800.

[2] Carolina V. Davison, "Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy" in *MdHM*, XXIX (1934), 1-20, 175-212. The second of these articles contains an account of his life written much later, probably in the 1830's, by Godefroy. The French text is published with a translation into English by Professor Gilbert Chinard, who collaborated with Miss Davison in seeking information from France. A much longer version of this memoir by Godefroy is to be found in the Archives Nationales in Paris, MS F^{18} 638 B. The third article is by W. D. Hoyt, "Eliza Godefroy: Destiny's Foot-ball," *MdHM*, XXXVI (1941), 10-21.

[3] *MdHM*, XXIX, 4-11; 179-183; *Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore*, copy in MdHS.

Henry Anderson disappeared from the scene shortly thereafter, and it has been assumed that he had died, leaving a young widow with an infant to support.[4] Miss Davison proved that, in addition to being the author of several translations from the French,[5] Eliza Crawford Anderson, under the nom de plume of Beatrice Ironside, had first been associate editor of the *Companion and Weekly Miscellany*, published November 3, 1804, to October 25, 1806, and then editor of its successor, the *Observer*, November 29, 1806, to December 26, 1807. It was established that Eliza Anderson had married Maximilian Godefroy on December 29, 1808, Godefroy being described as a "French political refugee," who had been teaching drawing at St. Mary's College since December, 1805. At the time of his residence in Baltimore, the reasons for his emigration were not known in America. He was thought to have held both a title of nobility and officer's rank in the old Royal Army of France. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, his friend and colleague, believed him to be an officer of considerable experience and a man of noble birth. He referred to him as the Count La Mard.[6]

For reasons not clear in any of the documents used for the abovementioned articles, the fortunes of the Godefroys declined, and they left Baltimore for England on August 27, 1819. They lived in England until 1827, and then went to France, where Godefroy eventually found work. His wife died on October 2, 1839, at Laval, their home in the department of the Mayenne.[7] Very little has been known of their life there, and there is no word of him at all after the announcement of his wife's death.

We now know that Eliza Godefroy was born in London, June 28, 1780, and that her mother's maiden name was O'Donnell.[8] Her father, Dr. John Crawford, had settled in Baltimore after

[4] *MdHM*, XIX, 5. ". . . one may hazard a guess that, in the years that followed her husband's death, the young widow and mother was prostrated by her grief."

[5] *Dangerous friendship: or the letters of Clara d'Albe translated from the French by a lady of Baltimore* (from Sophie Cottin, *Clara d'Albe*); also *Military reflections on four modes of defense for the United States . . . translated by Eliza Anderson*, by Max . . . [imilian Godefroy], both published in Baltimore, 1807.

[6] Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), pp. 385-6; *MdHM*, XXIX, 11, 13.

[7] Formal letter of announcement sent by Godefroy to an American friend, Ebenezer Jackson, published by Miss Davison, *MdHM*, XXIX, 20.

[8] Laval, France, Archives departementales, *Archives de la ville de Laval, Actes de Decès*, 1839.

a long career in the East India Company and in the West Indies. From the time of his arrival in Baltimore, about 1796, until his death in 1813, he enjoyed considerable prominence in Baltimore and Philadelphia.[9] Her mother was a sister of John O'Donnell,[10] which is said to account for the settlement of the Crawfords in Baltimore. Mrs. Crawford supposedly died during a voyage to England in 1782, four years after her marriage and two years after Eliza's birth.[11] Between 1790 and 1794, Dr. Crawford had spent some time in Holland and in what was then a Dutch colony, Demerara in Guiana. He apparently did a great deal of traveling. His daughter may have been with him, unless she was left somewhere at school. Wherever her childhood was spent, she somehow gained an excellent command of French, a language her father also spoke well. Perhaps they were in one of the French colonies. We know from her correspondence years later that she had at that time never been in France.

It is now clear that Eliza Anderson was not a widow, but that her husband Henry Anderson had deserted her, and that she knew him to be alive. His disappearance seems to have occurred in 1801, when he was no longer listed in the Baltimore Directory. He and his brother John lost their mercantile business through bankruptcy in April and May of that year.[12]

Eliza Crawford Anderson accompanied the famous Betsy Patterson when the latter sailed with her husband, Jerome Bonaparte, on March 10, 1805, on the ill-fated journey which ended in their separation. Jerome and his wife had hoped to win recognition of their marriage. They had made several previous attempts to sail, and on at least one occasion, a cousin of Madame Bonaparte had accompanied them, in order to provide a suitable companion for Betsy in case Jerome should find it impossible to be with her.[13] When they finally got off in March, 1805, they were desperately

[9] Julia E. Wilson in *Bulletin of the School of Medicine, University of Maryland*, XXV, 116-119.

[10] Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., Baltimore Wills, 7, fol. 448-451, probated Oct. 9, 1805. Mr. Roger Thomas, Senior Archivist, very generously examined this will for me and sent the necessary notes. My thanks are due to him and to the Archivist, Dr. Morris Radoff, for this kindness.

[11] Miss Wilson in *Bulletin*, XXV, 124-5.

[12] Baltimore Court House, Court Proceedings, 1801, fol. 639-41.

[13] Jerome's hopes of reconciliation with his brother, now Emperor of France, may not have been at all optimistic. The fact also had to be taken into consideration that Jerome was a naval officer subject to orders for sea duty and long absences at any time.

hoping to reach France in time for the birth on French soil of their expected child. They were accompanied by William Patterson, elder brother of Madame Bonaparte, by Jerome's personal physician, and by Eliza Anderson, in addition to several servants.[14] We do not know how Mrs. Anderson happened to be selected. She was perhaps a distant relative, or at least a family friend of long standing. She was an experienced sailor, for she had traveled with her father. Most important of all, she knew French well.[15]

As it turned out, the party was unable to land anywhere on the continent. On arrival in Lisbon, Jerome was obliged to go on alone to see his brother, while the other passengers continued, first to Amsterdam, where they were also turned away, then finally to Dover, where they were permitted to land. The doctor left them shortly, but Madame Bonaparte, her brother, and Mrs. Anderson settled in Camberwell, near London, where the child was born on July 7, 1805.[16] As Madame Bonaparte had no success in her efforts to get in touch with her husband, the family were at a loss as to their plans. Mrs. Anderson wanted to return home, probably because she heard the news that her uncle, John O'Donnell, had died and had remembered her in his will.[17] She was prevailed upon to stay, in order not to leave the young mother alone, should Betsy's brother decide to go to France himself to try to see Jerome.[18] Then it was suddenly decided not to stay on, and the whole party returned in the brig *Mars*, leaving September 25, and arriving in Baltimore after a long and disagreeable winter voyage on November 13, 1805.[19]

The trip with Madame Bonaparte occupied Mrs. Anderson from March 10 to November 13, 1805. It is thus manifestly im-

[14] An account of this voyage was published by D. M. Quynn and F. F. White in *MdHM*, XLVIII (1953), 204-214.

[15] All of her letters to Madame Bonaparte give evidence of intimacy with the family, and her child bore the family name of Madame Bonaparte's mother. That she knew French extremely well is demonstrated in her letters. Although we have no proof that she at that time had fluency in the spoken language, this is probable. She translated well enough for publication, and her French in her letters was grammatically correct.

[16] In an elaborate certificate attesting the birth, Mrs. Anderson's name appears as a witness. (MdHS, Bonaparte Papers, Birth certificate of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte).

[17] Hall of Records, Baltimore Wills, 7, fol. 448-451.

[18] W. T. R. Saffell, *The Bonaparte-Patterson Marriage* (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 208.

[19] *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1805.

possible for her to have been an active partner in the editing of the *Companion and Weekly Miscellany* for the whole period of its life. She had left four months after the journal began to appear, which suggests that she was not in the beginning necessary to its functioning. Returning on November, 1805, she could have collaborated on it for eleven months before taking over completely as editor of its successor, the *Observer*, which continued to appear through the month of December, 1807. It has been assumed that financial problems brought about the death of the *Observer*, as reference to this was made by the editor herself in announcing it. One possible contributing factor has been overlooked; Eliza Anderson had brought out, in the course of the year 1807, a translation from the French of a popular novel, Sophie Cottin's *Claire d'Albe*, which appeared in Baltimore under the title, *Dangerous friendship, or the letters of Clara d'Albe*. This may have provided a little money to permit her to devote herself to other projects. We know from internal evidence in her letters that she had had dealings with a Philadelphia publisher during the following year, but we have no information as to the nature of the work involved, nor have we the name of the publisher.[20]

It was also during this period that Mrs. Anderson made the acquaintance of Maximilian Godefroy, who published occasionally in the *Observer*, and who wrote a treatise on American military defense which Mrs. Anderson translated into English in the course of the year.[21]

The man known in America as Maximilian Godefroy arrived in New York in the brig *Rosa* on April 26, 1805. He was then thirty-nine years old.[22] He had been born in Paris in 1765 of a Hungarian father, Stephen Godefroy, and a French mother, née Marie Catherine Boulnez.[23] His name had originally been Jean Maur Godefroy, but he had taken the name of Maximilian when he entered the army as a private in a cavalry regiment in 1794.

[20] *MdHM*, XXIX, 5-8, and note 5 above.

[21] Note 5 above.

[22] Paris, Archives Nationales, MS F[7] 6366 dossier 7484.

[23] The dates and names are taken from official records of his military service in the archives of the French General Staff at the Château de Vincennes. The nationality of the parents is mentioned in one of his wife's letters, Nov. 27, 1836, *MdHM*, XXIX, 19. Maximilian spelled his name Maximilien, but the "a" has been so often used in the literature about him that no attempt to change the spelling will be made by the writer.

On September 3, 1803, he was arrested and accused of complicity in one of the many plots which worried the police after the attempt on the life of Napoleon two years earlier. At that time he gave the police a variety of stories about his previous life.[24] Some twenty-five years later, he made a number of reports in which he enlarged on the earlier accounts, apparently in order to show that his devotion to the Royalist cause had been constant and unchanging. By combining the two series, we may arrive at some idea of his activities, unfortunately, without being able to successfully estimate degrees of truthfulness.

Godefroy claimed [25] to have been delighted at the Fall of the Bastille and the promulgation of the Constitution of 1791, and also to have been a Royalist in 1789 and a fugitive during the two following years. Curiously, he also claimed to have been one of those who petitioned the King on June, 1792, and to have been wounded in the Battle for the Tuileries on August 10, 1792, although it is not clear on which side he was fighting. Then, for some reason which he fails to give specifically, he says that he was brought before a Revolutionary Tribunal and thrown into prison in 1793. He escaped and hid in Paris until he entered the army in 1794.[26]

According to army records, his military service dates from February 14, 1794, to September 17, 1795, the date of his discharge.[27] He himself reported that he had attempted to desert in 1794 in order to join a Royalist army.[28]

In less than a month after his army discharge, on October 11, 1795, we find Godefroy established near Beaugency, in the department of the Loiret.[29] For fifteen months he worked some lands belonging to a relative, and then left this estate to take over another, also the property of a relative. The police knew about both these jobs,[30] but for some reason Godefroy himself never

[24] Arch. Nat. MS F^7 6366, doss. 7484.

[25] In his reports 25 years later. Arch. Nat. MS F^{13} 650; *MdHM*, XXIX, 176-7.

[26] Arch. Nat. MS F^7 6366, doss. 7484; F^7 650. We have nothing except Godefroy's own testimony to support any of these statements except the fact that he finally entered the army in 1794. It should be noted especially that this applies to his account of his arrest and imprisonment in 1793.

[27] Vincennes, Arch. Gen. Staff, dossier *Godefroy*, 5ème reg. Chasseurs à Cheval.

[28] Arch. Nat. MS F^{13} 650.

[29] Arch. Nat., Arch. Not., Etude XIII, Allain de la Coeurtière, Antoine François Louis, An IV, 19 Vend.

[30] Arch. Nat. MS F^7 6366, doss. 7484.

mentioned them, either at the time of his arrest, or in his reports years later. He also fails to mention the next position he held, as well as the fact that a pension was settled on him by a relative.[31] He talked instead about the places he held between 1798 and 1803, claiming that he lost each in turn as a result of administrative reorganization. The last of the jobs was that of secretary to the Marquis de Rostaing, a former cavalry officer and an expert on fortifications.

Godefroy was arrested in Paris on September 3, 1803.[32] At that time he was living in Paris at 6, rue de la Michodière, near where the Opera now stands. In his day this was one of the newer residence districts, and Godefroy had moved there a year earlier from the old and crowded Marais district. He had a room on the unfashionable fifth floor. His arrest was due to police suspicion about his activities in a distant part of Paris, the Faubourg St. Antoine, near the Bastille. Here he was said to be involved with a woman named Boissevin, described as his 'friend and accomplice.'[33] Apparently she belonged to a group of so-called anarchists who had given trouble to the police. There was definitely something strange about Godefroy's activities, for he was then using three aliases, Maxime, Max, and Bouillon.[34] It is difficult to believe that the activities of these people of humble station had reached the level of a conspiracy against the life of Napoleon, or had been carried on with a view to his overthrow. But it seems to be true that Godefroy was in solitary confinement in the Temple for some months, after which he and three others were sent to the Fortress at Bellegarde in the Pyrenees where they arrived July 26, 1804.[35]

We have reports of his behavior in prison, where he was listed as " ingénieur hydrologue." [36] An account emanating from Bellegarde describes him as spending his time reading and working,

[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Ernest d'Hauterive, *La police secrète du Premier Empire: bulletins quotidiens adressés par Fouché à l'Empereur, 1804-1805* (Paris, 1908), I, 19, 60. Bellegarde was a border fortress on the Spanish frontier, some seven or eight miles from the Mediterranean. It had once been safe, and almost inaccessible, but due to damage during the Revolution, it was no longer very useful, either as a defense against Spain, or as a prison.
[36] *Ibid.*, I, 75.

presumably drawing, and noted the fact that he seemed to be supplied with money.[37] A subsequent report accuses both the commander of the fortress and his wife of undue interest in Godefroy, and it may be that the first report had been an effort to put him in an especially favorable light. A later report labels him as "an evil man made worse by idleness." One of the police officials who interrogated him wrote that "Godefroy seems to me to be very weak in the head, and during his imprisonment he has shown some symptoms of insanity." [38] He added that Godefroy, in telling of his arrest in 1793,[39] said that it had been a case of mistaken identity.[40] This officer admitted that he did not know what to do with Godefroy and asked for a court order.[41]

This problem was temporarily solved for them, when, late in September, 1804, Godefroy escaped. On the eve of a transfer of the prisoners at Bellegarde to the more safely guarded Château d'If, off the Mediterranean coast at Marseilles, Godefroy disappeared. The prisoners had advance knowledge of the transfer,[42] and Godefroy may have been aided by the commander or his wife. The police were much concerned,[43] for they feared that he might go to Spain and there hand over certain information about Louisiana.[44] On October 10, he was caught in Perpignan,[45] the nearest large town, and only about twelve miles north of the

[37] *Ibid.*, I, 75.

[38] Arch. Nat. MS F[7] 6366, doss. 7484.

[39] There is no evidence to support his story of a previous arrest.

[40] In his accounts 25 years later, he told the story of his arrest as evidence of his Royalist record at the time of the Revolution.

[41] Arch. Nat. F[7] 6366, doss. 7484.

[42] Hauterive, I, 116.

[43] Most of the prefects in the departments south of the Loire were circularized about his escape and one or more other prisoners who escaped at the same time. Arch. Nat. MS F[7] 6366 doss. 7484 contains correspondence about some 30 such circulars.

[44] On his arrest, his papers had been seized, and they included three essays which are still to be found in his dossier among the police records at the Archives Nationales, MS F[7] 6366, doss. 7484: (1) *Sur la Louisiane,* (2) *Mes châteaux dans la Nouvelle Espagne,* (3) *Une famille indépendante d'Hongrie.* There must have been more than one copy of the first, for when Godefroy's sister got family papers back from the police, she signed a receipt for a copy of the paper on Louisiana. This is also in the dossier. The last of the three papers, on a Hungarian family, appears to be fictional and to bear no resemblance to biographical details of the Godefroy family. The first two papers, however, were responsible for the fears of the police ridiculous as this may seem today, for Louisiana had been sold to the United States some months before Godefroy's arrest and about a year before the police expressed these fears in a report to the Emperor. (Hauterive, I, 116, 140.)

[45] Arch. Nat. MS F[7] 6366 doss. 7484.

prison. He was thus going away from Spain, instead of towards it, as the fortress was at the border, controlling one of the passes into Spain. He wrote a letter to the Minister of Police, saying that he had returned voluntarily, and that he had had no intention of absconding permanently, but had only sought to be in a position to write out in proper form an appeal for release, probably with the aid of a sister who was believed to have influence in Paris.[46]

Godefroy's later version is somewhat different. He said that the Duchess of Orléans,[47] then in Spain, had arranged for his escape to Spain, where she had a boat waiting for him at Barcelona. As he was leaving to take advantage of this opportunity, he had heard that the commander at Bellegarde was to be court-martialed for having facilitated Godefroy's escape, so he had returned to give himself up and thus save the commander, this despite the fact that there was a price on his head, and he was being tracked down by packs of dogs, at least, so he thought.[48] He was sent to the Château d'If.

The police shortly arranged to get rid of this troublesome prisoner, whom they apparently had come to consider more of a nuisance than a danger. Ignoring his desire to go to Spain, on December 12, they ordered him deported to America. Two officials, then obscure, but later important, who had known Royalist tendencies, agreed to answer for him.[49] Godefroy had a sister, Mlle. Dieudonnée Godefroy, who lived in Paris, in the Marais district, near the present Place des Vosges. For some reason she seems to have been able to reach important people, for she had been in touch with the authorities at the time of her brother's arrest, or shortly thereafter. She had at that time written to the presiding judge, saying that when her brother's papers had been seized at the time of his arrest, there had been among them some family papers which she feared might be lost. She asked that

[46] Hauterive, I, 116, 140: Arch. Nat. F^7 6366 doss. 7484.

[47] Louise-Marie-Adelaide de Bourbon-Penthièvre, 1753-1821, mother of Louis Philippe.

[48] Arch. Nat. MS F^{18} 638 B. Most of this report was published from another text *MdHM*, XXIX, 176-199. (French text with translation into English by Gilbert Chinard.) See note 2 above.

[49] Louis Benjamin Francoeur, 1773-1849, an engineer, later professor at the Faculty of Science at the Sorbonne and Charles François Quéquet, 1768-1830, an attorney, later an official of the Paris courts.

they be turned over to her, and this was done on December 21, 1803. We do not know the outcome of several other requests she made during the early days of his imprisonment, but the letters at least reached his dossier [50] where they are to be found today. In one of these letters she asked to be allowed to visit her brother, who, she feared, might lose his mind or commit suicide because of his despair. The other letters denied his guilt and applied formally for his release. Now that he was to be deported, she reappeared. She wrote to the Minister of Police requesting a delay. She stated that he must get certain business matters settled, and that the family must discuss with him the arrangements to facilitate his emigration. She asked that the Minister select a place where they could meet him, preferably Orléans.[51] On December 22 she was notified that the request had been granted, and Godefroy was conducted to Orléans, and then back to Marseilles. There he embarked on March 12 in the brig *Rosa* for New York, where he is said to have arrived on April 26. On May 14, the consular official in New York notified his government that Godefroy had arrived and that he was living in Philadelphia.[52]

Although he wrote and spoke of these events twenty-five years later, they do not seem to have been known at the time in America, where Godefroy concealed details about his past, except for his status of political refugee, with a tacit encouragement of rumors of nobility. Whatever the truth may have been about the political activities responsible for his deportation, once in America he was acceptable to persons of Royalist sympathies in the United States.

In 1791 a group of priests of the Society of St. Sulpice, refugees from Paris, founded St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. Their purpose was to train priests for the Roman Catholic Church in America. Eight years later they founded a school for boys, known as St. Mary's College, which they hoped would be a feeder for the Seminary. The Gentlemen of St. Sulpice were devoted to the Old Regime in France, hated the idea of revolution, and planned to influence their pupils along these lines. Their school was to be a transplanted French school, and until 1803 no Americans were

[50] Arch. Nat. MS F[7] 6366 doss. 7484.

[51] *Ibid.* This, together with Godefroy's previous connection with Beaugency and relatives there, suggests that the Godefroy family may have lived originally in the Loiret and were still there.

[52] *Ibid.*

permitted to enroll as students. Instead they sought boys from French and Spanish colonial families in the West Indies. After 1803, in order to balance the budget, they decided to admit Americans, but the language of the school was to continue to be French.[53] The moving spirit behind St. Mary's College was the Reverend Father Dubourg, S. S., a native of Santo Domingo, and a man possessed of unusual social and administrative talents.[54] In addition to directing the school, and traveling to the Islands to get students and collect bills, he sponsored a girls' school, conducted in French by a Madame Lacomb.[55]

In the autumn of 1805, the Sulpicians were looking for a teacher of drawing for St. Mary's. They had offered the post to a Monsieur Volozan in Philadelphia, who declined for himself, but recommended a friend whom he described as more competent than himself. This friend was none other than Godefroy, who had drifted from the port of New York to Philadelphia, where he was at the moment doing some drawing for a "Monsieur Mauduit." Godefroy was delighted at the prospect of permanent employment, but he was obliged to delay going to Baltimore, first giving illness as an excuse, and then his obligation to complete a drawing for Monsieur Mauduit. But late in November, he promised to be there within the week, and he wrote Father Dubourg: "I have need of the society of good and learned men, in order to forget the crimes of which I have so long been a witness and a victim. . . . Suffice it to say how happy I am, in my ship-wrecked state, to reach the honored haven which I owe to the Friendly solicitude of Messrs. Auriol and Volozan. . . ." [56]

[53] Baltimore, Maryland, Archives of St. Mary's Seminary (Hereafter cited as St.M.Arch.), MS Tessier, *Epoques du Seminaire de Baltimore*, entries for 1799. See my article, *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXIX (1953), 28-30. The Reverend William J. O'Shea and the Reverend Raymond Meyer, both of the Society of St. Sulpice and the Seminary at Baltimore, gave me gracious and invaluable help when I consulted their archives in this connection.

[54] The Reverend Father Louis Guillaume Valentin du Bourg was born in the Islands at Cap-François, now Cap-Haïtien. He was considered by his superiors to be less suited to the self-effacing work of the Seminary than to a position involving public relations and utilizing his administrative talents. In 1815 he left to become Bishop of New Orleans and then went to France as Bishop of Montauban in 1826. He was translated to Besançon in 1833, and died there in 1847. (Gams, *Series Episcoporum*)

[55] Tradition describes Madame Lacomb both as a refugee from Santo Domingo and as an exile from France because of the Revolution. Godefroy taught at this school. See note 73 below.

[56] St. M. Arch., Volozan to Dubourg, Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1805; Godefroy to Dubourg, Nov. 8, 9, 25, 1805.

We do not know when Godefroy made the acquaintance of Eliza Crawford Anderson, who returned to Baltimore with Madame Bonaparte and her family on November 13, 1805, shortly before Godefroy himself got there. She must have come to know him within a year or so, for it was in the summer of 1807 that she published a translation of extracts from his work on American defense and in October completed her translation of the entire work.

Despite his remarks to Father Dubourg, Godefroy immediately sought other employment, and within a month he appealed to President Jefferson. In his letter he made claims which were more extravagant than any we have found elsewhere. He said that he had entered the French army at the age of seventeen and had served some twenty-one years in the Corps of Engineers and with various other arms of the service, including the Royal Guard. He said that he had been a Captain of Cavalry, a Captain of Engineers, and finally a Colonel and Aide-de-Camp of Prince Talmont; that he had been wounded in action three times, and had had a horse shot under him.[57]

Soon the tongues began to wag in Baltimore, and Godefroy's name was connected with that of the female editor of the *Observer.* We owe to her friendship with Madame Bonaparte the letters in which she talks of her personal life and speaks of her plans for divorcing Anderson and then marrying Godefroy. In one of these she says:

> As for what the Town says of me, and much I hear they say, I care not. Absurd and ridiculous monsters in whose hands no fame can go unsullied . . . If G. had wished or proposed anything dishonourable to me—would it be by honourably proposing to my father to make me his wife and share the good or bad fortune that befalls him that he's proved it—why should I be at the trouble of getting a divorce . . . if I had already sacrificed honour—truly I might have continued as I was.[58]

Early in 1808 Eliza Anderson left Baltimore for Trenton in connection with her plans for getting a divorce.[59] Although she

[57] L. C., Jefferson Papers, Godefroy to Jefferson, Jan. 10, 1806. From what we know of his military career, both the length of service and his rank were falsified in this letter to Jefferson.

[58] MdHS, Bonaparte Papers, Anderson to Bonaparte, Trenton, N. J., June 4, 1808.

[59] Apparently to establish residence, but this does not seem to have been a requirement at that time.

had had some previous quarrel with General Samuel Smith,[60] the General responded handsomely to an appeal from old Dr. Crawford, Mrs. Anderson's father, and introduced her to Governor Bloomfield. She wrote Madame Bonaparte:

I have been courted and caressed by the Patricians of Trenton and its vicinity to a degree you would hardly believe . . . I brought letters to all the most distinguished persons here, and it has been quite the rage to attend to me . . . Parties have been given in my honour by the Governor and all the Grandees of the city.[61]

Shortly thereafter, she had started proceedings for a divorce. She wrote:

A divorce can be obtained only by giving proof of infidelity and . . . this is not an affair to which men usually call witnesses . . . the last I had heard of Mr A. was that he was at Albany—my lawyers here had written there to obtain information about him whether he was alive or dead—but received no answer . . . I resolved courageously to go to Albany myself . . . I sailed up N. River in the steam boat amidst a heterogenous crowd bundled together so closely as hardly to allow us the free use of our limbs—the sun beat almost vertically upon us . . . protected from its ardent rays only by a slight awning the wind ahead blowing all the volume of smoke & steam upon the part of the deck which we occupied. You may conceive we have a foretaste of the glowing delights which Lucifer prepares for his faithful followers—the Cabin is calculated for the accommodation of 12 ladies, the Captain with the spirit of thrift which constitutes the genus loci of his country (a New England man) crammed 60 of us into the Boat with 100 men—you may conceive we were closely stowed—At night men, women & children were promiscuously sleeping upon the deck, whilst some of us who could obtain no substitutes for beds, wandered up and down like unhappy spirits, seeking rest & finding none . . .[62] I had hoped [after seeing lawyers in Albany to go on to] Bolston Springs . . . Judge of my vexation, I found that my all accomplished *moitié* was a *fisherman* at that very place, & regularly, 3 times a week, supplied the principal boarding house with fish *en propriae personae* in addition to which he keeps a pleasure boat for the accommodation [of guests] . . . He is now, it is true, exactly at the sphere of life for which Nature fitted him . . . with most unblushing front, he mingles socially with the gentry of the cuisine . . . for eight days we received no answer to our communications . . . at length an epistle arrived . . . his

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[60] His wife, née Margaret Spear, was sister to Mrs. Patterson, mother of Madame Bonaparte. Mrs. Anderson was probably related to the Spears.

[61] Bonaparte Papers, Anderson to Bonaparte, Trenton, N. J., July 2, 1808.

[62] Here follows an excellent description of the scenery as the boat sailed up the Hudson. The letter also included gossip about Madame Bonaparte which Mrs. Anderson picked up from passengers during the voyage.

acknowledgement of an infidelity was necessary, and although he positively refused to name any of these " good women who had a kindness for him " he yet reveals the favours of the *fair* Desdemona, a handmaiden of mine whom you may perhaps remember—this however, was not enough . . . At last he gave such references . . . to a physician . . . as to ensure success.[63]

The date of Mrs. Anderson's divorce and the place of her remarriage are unknown. Her marriage to Godefroy took place on December 29, 1808.[64] After this date for some six years, as indeed prior to her residence in Trenton, we have no information in the Bonaparte papers about the activities of the Godefroys, probably because they were in frequent personal touch with the Patterson family. However, Benjamin Latrobe, who paid a visit to them in 1812, wrote to his wife about their establishment.[65] They were living with old Dr. Crawford, where Latrobe said he found " the house miserably out of sorts . . . [but] Godefroy's room or study is very neat and handsome, furnished with marble statues and the walls hung with expensive pictures well-framed." There were books everywhere. Latrobe noticed that Madame Godefroy's daughter, Eliza, looked pale and neglected, " She is sickly and much in the country."

It does not lie within the competence of this writer to deal with the architectural work of Godefroy in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, and Richmond, 1807-1819. This has been described by Carolina Davison [66] and listed by Godefroy himself in his Memoir.[67] Two experts have studied his work technically, William Sener Rusk in an article in *Liturgical Arts*,[68] and Talbot

[63] Bonaparte Papers, Anderson to Bonaparte, Trenton, N. J., June 8, 1808. There is reason to believe, on internal evidence, that this letter was misdated and June 8 should read August 8.

[64] Date taken from the certificate of her death. (Laval, France, *Actes de Decès*, 1839.) Professor Chinard had obtained a copy of this from the Mayor of Laval. (*MdHM*, XXIX, 3.) There is no record in Baltimore of this marriage.

[65] *MdHM*, XXIX, 10. The authors of the article, perhaps because of this letter from Latrobe, thought the house belonged to Dr. Crawford and that the Godefroys were homeless after his death. The house was held as a life tenancy by Eliza Godefroy, who had inherited it from her uncle in 1805. See note 10 above.

[66] *Ibid.*, 200-12.

[67] *Ibid.*, 178-202; Arch. Nat., MS F[13] 650. When Godefroy applied for the position at Rennes, he filed a list of his achievements, which is in substance the same as in the memoir, but neither is copied from the other.

[68] Vol. III (1933), 140, 145. The late Professor Talbot Hamlin, and Professors William S. Rusk and Paul F. Norton, architectural historians, have generously corresponded with me about Godefroy's work. As a layman, I am especially grateful for this professional advice.

Hamlin, in his recent life of Benjamin Henry Latrobe.[69] It is therefore our purpose to deal only with those aspects of Godefroy's career which have been clarified by the new documents not used by any of the above-mentioned writers. These documents confirm the story, already familiar, of Godefroy's efforts to win competitions with his plans for public buildings in various cities, his numerous failures, and the resulting embitterment towards friends whom he chose to consider responsible. But in addition, the correspondence in the Bonaparte Papers, together with Godefroy's letters in the archives of St. Mary's Seminary[70] show, and for the first time, why and how the fortunes of the Godefroys deteriorated.

Godefroy began his teaching at St. Mary's at the end of the year 1805 and was employed there, except for brief periods, until the summer of 1819. He taught regular classes in Graphic Art, and gave private lessons during all or part of this time. Advertisements appeared from time to time in the *Federal Gazette*[71] announcing his private instruction in "drawing, painting, architecture, and fortifications." One of these advertisements gives the address as "7 German Street," and the hours as "every day in the week, Saturday excepted, from 5 o'clock in the evening until 7." In an amusing letter to Father Dubourg at St. Mary's, October 1, 1806, Godefroy complained that his schedule was too hard on his health and prevented him from taking on outside work. He asked the Fathers to arrange for him to have only morning classes the following year.[72] He also taught at Madame Lacomb's school for young ladies, but was paid by individual pupils for their tuition, not by the school.[73] Among his pupils, either at Madame Lacomb's school or privately, was at least one of the Patterson children, Margaret, Betsy's fifteen-year-old sister. In one of Mrs. Anderson's letters to Madame Bonaparte, there is a note which illustrates Godefroy's professional standards. In this he follows what would today be considered an orthodox, but less popular approach:

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[69] New York, 1955.

[70] These very illuminating letters at St. Mary's Seminary seem to have been neglected by Miss Davison and Professor Chinard. They were searched for certain facts in connection with Latrobe by someone working for Professor Hamlin.

[71] Sept. 27, 1815, and subsequent issues.

[72] St. M. Arch., Godefroy to Dubourg, Baltimore, Oct. 1, 1806.

[73] St. M. Arch., Godefroy to Dubourg, Baltimore, Oct. 27, 1806.

I have some advice to give your Mama about Margery. Godefroy says she really has a taste for drawing, but for God's sake let her not be hurried on to painting, for if she is, she will never be good for anything in this enchanting art—you will feel the disinterestedness of this counsel, because painting is fifteen, drawing only ten $ per quarter. I am anxious that my friend Peggy should excel in some accomplishment, & Godefroy, for my sake as well as his own (for she pleases him very much) will interest himself in her improvement. I regret she had not begun sooner for I fear she will not have his instructions as long as it would be desirable.[74]

In the spring following his arrival at St. Mary's, Godefroy undertook the building of their chapel, a charming Gothic church which still survives. It is a curious fact that no documents have been found among the archives at St. Mary's giving Godefroy credit for the building. In fact, Godefroy's dossier at St. Mary's contains a note by a former archivist, Father Boyer, stating that his searches to this end had been fruitless. However, Godefroy's friend, later his rival and critic, Benjamin H. Latrobe, spoke of the edifice as "Godefroy's Chapel," [75] and Godefroy listed it as his work in a statement made years later about his achievements in America. And some ten years after he had done the work, he complained about treatment he had received at the hands of his employers, the Sulpicians, saying, "Did they not drive me nearly crazy [about alterations in the chapel] and made me change the position of the façade in the course of construction." [76] So, unless Godefroy had been secretly making use of stock plans, he must have been the architect, as well as the builder.

The records of the Seminary show that the foundations of the Chapel were begun on May 17, 1806, and completed by June 18, when the cornerstone was laid and the church dedicated.[77] It would be interesting to know what the contents of the cornerstone could tell us about the problem of responsibility for the plans.

St. Mary's Seminary possesses a number of letters addressed to the Sulpician Fathers by Godefroy. They are almost all notes about loans, and usually requests for help in paying his debts.

[74] Bonaparte Papers, Anderson to Bonaparte, Trenton, N. J., July 2, 1808.

[75] This was the opinion of the late Professor Hamlin after a thorough examination of Latrobe's papers. Godefroy's own list was included in his Memoir, Arch. Nat. MS F[18] 650; *MdHM*, XXIX, 178-179.

[76] St. M. Arch., Godefroy to [?], Baltimore, Mar. 29, 1817.

[77] *Ibid.*, Tessier, *Epoques*, 1806.

They show that Godefroy's finances were in a chaotic state almost from the moment of his arrival and up to the eve of his departure in 1819. Less than a year after his arrival, he had begun to borrow money from Father Dubourg. On October 27, 1806, he wrote to the Father that in addition to the $2 he had borrowed two days earlier, he needed $20 more immediately and $80 on November 1. He asked for $15 for that same day. When November 1 came around, he reported that he had only $2 in his pocket and needed $130 more. On January 14, 1807, he said that of the $119 for which he had asked, he had received only $25, and now must have $120 more for bills which he expected to be presented the following day. On January 28, he asked for $10 to pay the woman who mended his linen. On March 27, 1808, he wrote to thank Father Dubourg for the loan of $300, and said he would send him a receipt with a statement of his plans for repayment. An undated letter of this same group speaks of Godefroy's having looked around for Father Dubourg after class to pay him $40. Not having found him, he had postponed paying until the next day. Then, on arriving home, he had found a letter from the man to whom he owed most of his obligations and would have to meet his demands instead of paying Father Dubourg.[78] This, it will be recalled, was a few months prior to his marriage in December, 1808.

Two years later, in December, 1810, he was again in serious trouble and on this occasion Father Dubourg asked for explanations and promises. Godefroy presented a long list of his obligations to private individuals. It included, among others, a bill of $65 from his tailor, and $50 due to a certain Vecchio, one item of the last debt being a $10 charge for framing a diploma which the Seminary had presented to Godefroy. He needed money at that moment, and most urgently, to buy the prizes which he was obliged to present at the Prize Day exercises the following week at Madame Lacomb's. The previous year these had cost him $25, all of which he had to pay, since the school had allowed him to keep the fees for his tuition without a percentage to the school. His list of debts and obligations covered three pages. Three days later, he got some sort of help from the College, for he thanked

[78] *Ibid.*, Godefroy to Dubourg, Oct. 27, 1806, Nov., 1806, Jan. 14, 1807, Jan. 28, 1807, undated, ca. 1807, Dec. 13, 1810.

the Fathers and established with them five notes for a total of $775. He agreed that they were to withhold the repayments from his salary and he promised to pay his other debts. The next extant correspondence on this subject dates from the year 1815.[79] Father Tessier wrote to Godefroy on January 25, telling him that a stop must be put to his borrowing, that the College could not continue to take over his notes, and that he must see Father Tessier for a final accounting. Then the Fathers weakened again, for Godefroy's fortunes had sunk lower and lower, and he continued to appeal to the Sulpicians. He wrote to them on March 15, July 27, and September 27 of that year, and on the last of these dates he thanked them for money lent him on three outstanding notes. The following year brought a brief period of prosperity for Godefroy and his wife. She wrote to Madame Bonaparte that they had had a windfall in the form of a contract in Richmond which would bring them "bread" for a time at least.[80]

While the Godefroys were in Richmond, they did some sightseeing. On October 12, 1816, Godefroy wrote to Jefferson about their trip to the Natural Bridge, and the magnificence of the scenery there. He told Jefferson that he would like to acquire the property, and to make it his permanent home in America. He did not speak of buying it, which his circumstances would not have permitted. He may have hoped to receive it as a gift. Jefferson, however, understood differently. He replied that although at one time he had thought that he might be forced to sell this property because of pressing debts, he was now convinced that he could avoid doing so. He wished to consider himself the guardian of this beautiful site, to prevent its being defaced by the establishment of commercial or industrial enterprises.[81]

Lacking the information gleaned from St. Mary's archives, as well as from the Bonaparte Collection, previous writers have lavished a great deal of sympathy on the Godefroy family, who were regarded as victims of circumstance. To cite one such opinion:

His was a sombre life of tragic circumstances, frustrated ambitions, dis-

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[79] *Ibid.*, Tessier to Godefroy, Jan. 25, Mar. 15, July 27, Sept. 27, 1815.
[80] Bonaparte Papers, Godefroy to Bonaparte, Mar. 27, 1816.
[81] L. C., Jefferson Papers, Godefroy to Jefferson, Natural Bridge, Oct. 12, 1816; Jefferson to Godefroy, Nov. 11, 1816.

appointed hopes, desperate poverty, and bitter struggle—a life one dares to assert was shared by his wife with a complete fusion of spirit with his . . . There was a persistence about Godefroy's misfortunes . . . Could a lack of adaptability and an over-sensitive temperament have been contributing causes? [82]

In the early summer of 1815, Madame Bonaparte went abroad, and for about twenty years thereafter, she lived abroad except for brief visits in Baltimore. During the first years her younger brother, Edward, wrote to her regularly, giving her the news and gossip about family and friends. It is to this series of letters that we owe our hitherto unsuspected explanation of some of the misfortunes of the Godefroys. On October 13, he wrote:

Your friend Godefroy looks very poor (pauvre). I am afraid that she and her husband have caricatured themselves out of a living—he has no chance of being employed as an architect by the Exchange Company [83] and in other respects meets with little encouragement in his profession.

Finally, on April 7, 1817, after the Godefroys returned from Richmond, he wrote:

Our friend Godefroy has behaved so badly of late that we have all determined to give her up—she made her appearance at two or three soirées so much intoxicated that the hostesses were obliged to put her to bed, and at a party given by herself the other evening, she was so far gone that the company was obliged to retire. They have made themselves so many enemies that I think they will be forced to leave the place—they are almost in a state of starvation, and with difficulty keep from making a visit up the falls . . .[84]

In June, 1819, Godefroy again appealed to the Sulpicians.[85] How, he asked, could a man support a family on $29.60 per month, when an ordinary stonecutter received as much as $60? For the past seven months, he said, they had been living by selling their possessions, including his mathematical instruments and his

[82] *MdHM*, XXIX, 10-11.

[83] This refers to the trouble about the building of the Baltimore Exchange, which led to Godefroy's quarrel with Latrobe, the architect of the building. See *MdHM*, XXIX, 204, and Hamlin, *Latrobe*, 488-492.

[84] Bonaparte Papers, Edward Patterson to Bonaparte, Baltimore, Oct. 13, Dec. 15, 1815; Sept. 25, 1816, Apr. 7, 1817. This is a reference to debtors' prison. See letter of Eliza Godefroy to John Oliver, Nov. 11, 1818, in MdHS. [This letter, two letters from Eliza to Robert Oliver (1817) and a letter from John Crawford to Robert Oliver (1828) were recently given to the Society by Mrs. Laurence Fowler: *Editor.*]

[85] St. M. Arch., Godefroy to Tessier, June 22, 1819.

books. When old Dr. Crawford had died in 1813, he had left to Madame Godefroy his library and many debts. This library was sold to the University of Maryland for $500,[86] but the proceeds were already obligated. Godefroy's own library had been reduced to such an extent, he said, that it was now worth only about $1,000. The only articles of value he still possessed were two fine marble statues, and he was trying to get Joseph Bonaparte to buy them. He had already paid out $1,400 in interest on the debts he owed and could not continue to pay the installments due. He asked the Sulpicians once more to take over his debts, but under what conditions, or with what results, we have no way of knowing.

It is not strange that in his circumstances Godefroy decided to try his fortunes in England, his wife's native land. Where he got the money for passage for three people has been a mystery. It probably came from the sale of Madame Godefroy's interest in the house in Hanover Street which she had inherited from her uncle, John O'Donnell, in 1805. For many years, and especially since 1815, they had been trying unsuccessfully to raise money on this house, but her life tenancy was not sufficiently profitable for a buyer. At her death the property was to pass to Columbus O'Donnell, son of her uncle John. In August, 1819, Columbus O'Donnell came to the rescue and purchased Eliza's interest for $1,500[87] and the family left within a few days. In later years, Godefroy was in the habit of attributing their departure to losses which he claimed to have suffered in the American financial panic, but it seems likely that he was choosing this way out of a long and desperate struggle. Madame Godefroy may have had resources in England, if we are to believe her husband's statement of some years later,[88] but there was no reference to this at the time. With Madame Godefroy and her daughter Eliza, he sailed in the *Ceres* on August 27, but the journey was immediately interrupted by the illness and death of young Eliza, whom they buried hastily in an unmarked grave on the shore.[89] The *Ceres* then continued on to Liverpool. It has been assumed that the voyage had been so stormy that Godefroy's effects were lost or destroyed, an assumption based on his statement that he had lost his library, collection

[86] Wilson, *Bulletin*, XXV, 119.
[87] Baltimore Court House, Land Records, WG 153, fol. 316.
[88] *MdHM*, XXIX, 204.
[89] *Federal Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1819.

of pictures, 2,000 etchings and his work of previous years.[90] It may have been true that " the fury of the winds did not abate "[91] but the disappearance of the works of art occurred after they landed. The trouble lay in the fact that they had no money with which to pay customs charges, and a year after their arrival their possessions were still being held for duty, which they continued to hope to be able to pay:

> . . . laws of the Custom House have occasioned us vexations and embarassments beyond what you can conceive—Heaven knows we arrived in this country with a purse so slenderly provided, that we could not spare a moment of time in setting about a means of replenishing it—. . . Whilst all poor Godefroy's works were locked in the merciless gripe of the custom house officers, they of course could not be exhibited as vouchers of his capacity . . . however in a few days now we trust our little vessel will be launched to the favouring breeze which is promised her—there appears to be but one opinion amongst our friends in London that Godefroy cannot fail to do well once he had made a beginning—his views of american scenery are to be immediately put in the hands of an engraver, & if trees, rivers, valleys & mountains turn into bread & wine for us at his touch God knows it will be a transmutation most devoutly wished.[92]

This letter of Madame Godefroy, written at the time of the event, makes no mention of the lost works of art, but only of Godefroy's own drawings and paintings. In view of her husband's letter to the effect that he had been selling his valuable possessions in order to live during the last months before they left Baltimore, it seems at least possible that Godefroy may have stretched the truth in later years when he spoke of the loss of his collections. In fact, in view of his poverty during the whole of his life in America, and the circumstances of his deportation from France, it seems incredible that he was able to collect works of art at all.

The Godefroys spent about seven and a half years in England, still without fortune's favors, except for brief intervals. Godefroy wrote of having had some success, exhibiting at the Royal Academy, and winning several architectural competitions.[93] They seem to have gone to London when they landed, and then after a year or so, to have returned to Liverpool,[94] probably in the

[90] Après une navigation lamentable qui nous enleva non seulement effets, bibliothèque, collections de tableaux, plus de 2000 gravures de maîtres, et les études de ma vie entière (*MdHM*, XXIX, 184).

[91] *Ibid.*, XXIX, 13.

[92] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 13.

[93] *Ibid.*, XXIX, 184-187.

[94] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 12-15.

hope of getting Godefroy's paintings out of customs, or perhaps to seek influential friends or financial help. On October 12, 1820, Madame Godefroy saw Mrs. Robert Patterson[95] in Liverpool, possibly with some such motive. During the first year in England she wrote twice to David Bailie Warden in Paris—she had known him in Baltimore. The letters show them to have been in the depths of misery, poverty, and hunger. There are no signs that things improved much during the remaining years. They still continued—as they did for years afterward—to curse the treatment they had received in Baltimore and to rail against the snobbery and haughtiness of the rich merchant class in America, whom Madame Godefroy labeled " Crafty, vulgar, ignorant, of bad faith, avaricious, insolent, vain." She said that her husband felt the same bitterness towards France, and had vowed never to set foot again on French soil. She, on the other hand, longed to see Paris, where she planned to go alone if the day should ever come when she could pay for such a luxury.[96]

Despite Godefroy's vows, the family did return to France, probably in the hope of finding favor with the restored Bourbons. There is evidence that Godefroy had been negotiating for an appointment as early as 1823, for there are reports of police investigation of his record from January, 1824, through 1827.[97] As soon as they arrived, early in 1827, Godefroy was made a pensioner of the King, that is, he was rewarded for previous services to the Crown, although the dossiers do not yield much in the way of proof to support his contention that he had a long Royalist record. His pension was to be 600 francs a year, which indicates that he was not being classified as a Royalist officer, but was rather in an humble category.[98]

It is likely that the decision to return to France was prompted by Godefroy's knowledge or imagination that he had friends in high places. One of the men who had helped to get him out of prison in 1805, Francoeur, had since attained prominence. More

[95] Mrs. Patterson, née Mary Ann Caton, later Marchioness of Wellesley. She was then the wife of Madame Bonaparte's brother, Robert, who died in 1822. She and her husband had been traveling in England and on the Continent since 1816.

[96] *MdHM*, XXXVI, 14-15.

[97] Arch. Nat. MS F^7 6366 doss. 7484, and MS F^{13} 650.

[98] The pension is mentioned in Arch. Nat. MS F^{13} 638 B. I am indebted to M. Cambrier, the distinguished archivist of the Army Historical Services at the Château de Vincennes for his estimate of the significance of the size of the pension.

important, Francoeur was believed to have the ear of the Duke de Doudeauville.[99] In 1827 this old friend solicited the Duke in Godefroy's behalf,[100] and although he had nothing to offer at the moment, a position was shortly found for him as architect for the city of Rennes.[101]

Godefroy remained at Rennes only a little more than a year, his appointment having dated from July 1, 1827.[102] On July 31, 1828, the Mayor of Rennes wrote to him:

> Some months ago, I informed you of the reasons which have forced me to insist upon your resignation as architect of the city of Rennes. I had hoped that you would comply and thus spare me the distasteful experience of taking a step which is very painful for me, but which my duty requires, and for which I have found no other solution. I therefore have the honor of notifying you that, beginning next September first, you will no longer belong to this administration, and that I shall have taken steps to replace you.

Godefroy refused to resign, and when forced to leave, he put in a claim for 4,000 francs. The City Council supported the Mayor's position that this claim was not justified, but they were sorry for Godefroy and gave him 3,000 francs. In writing of his experiences at Rennes, Godefroy later said that his salary had not been enough to pay his professional expenses, and that the city officials had demanded that he falsify his accounts in their favor. Letters of the Mayor, still to be found in the dossier at Rennes, show that although the Mayor liked Godefroy personally, he had found him either incompetent or incapable of doing the work expected. Drawings and plans urgently needed were not forthcoming, and when with great difficulty they were finally extracted from him, they were incomplete and did not fit the specifications. He had already received his salary for this work which could not be used, hence the Mayor's concern. The claims Godefroy made are not

[99] Ambroise Polycarpe de la Rochefoucauld (1765-1841) became director of the Post Office in 1823 and the following year Minister of the Royal Household. The present Duc de Doudeauville and the present Duchess de la Rochefoucauld kindly searched their archives but have found no trace of Godefroy's relations with their ancestors.

[100] Arch. Nat. F^{18} 650. See note 49 above.

[101] Arch. Nat. MS F^{18} 638 B; *MdHM*, XXIX, 188.

[102] All the information on Godefroy's stay at Rennes comes from his dossier in the departmental archives of Ile-et-Vilaine et Rennes. The archivist in charge, Monsieur H. F. Buffet, very generously consulted this dossier for me and sent me notes, including several long quotations. I am greatly in his debt for this help.

itemized, but they apparently covered expense money and wages of employees.

If Godefroy's position at Rennes had been due to the influence of one of his backers in 1805, Louis Benjamin Francoeur,[103] he probably found it difficult to appeal to him again after such a short interval. The other sponsor of 1805, Charles François Quéquet,[104] had once been an obscure Royalist agent, but had since become very prominent as a jurist, having won judgment against the Bonaparte family which brought financial advantage to the Crown. Quéquet was now established in a fine apartment near the Palais de Justice, scene of his law practice. On January 25, 1829, Godefroy arrived at Quéquet's home, and from this luxurious establishment at 18, Quai des Orfèvres, near the Pont Neuf, he wrote pleas to his friends to help him. In one of these letters, to David Bailie Warden who lived just across the river near St. Sulpice, Godefroy said that he had come to Paris "to seek some means of escape from the odious Siberia in which they were languishing." [105] Quéquet had access to the Duc de Doudeauville, who was then Minister of the Royal Household, and whose son had, since 1824, been Director of Fine Arts for the Crown. He, like Francoeur before him, used his influence, and Godefroy received another post.

In 1829 Godefroy was appointed departmental architect for the Mayenne, with his office at Laval.[106] This appointment was made from the Ministry in Paris and, like the Rennes appointment, had come through influence.[107] Here also, as at Rennes, he claimed that his salary would not cover expenses, especially employee's wages. At Rennes it had been said that Godefroy had not been able to do all the work required of a city architect. This suggests the possibility that he had been employing people to do work which officials at both Rennes and Laval had expected that he

[103] It was Francoeur who had given Godefroy a letter to the Duc de Doudeauville in 1827 (Arch. Nat., MS F^{13} 650).

[104] A judge in the court of appeals, at the time of his death in 1830. His prestige had increased, whereas that of Francoeur had been somewhat diminished by stories circulated at the time of the Restoration, accusing him of Bonapartist sympathies during the Hundred Days.

[105] LC, Warden Papers, Godefroy to Warden, Paris, Jan. 25, 1829.

[106] *MdHM*, XXIX, 188.

[107] In Rennes he had been employed by and was responsible to the city government, but at Laval he was responsible to the department prefect, and through him to the Ministry in Paris.

would perform himself. In any case, there was no provision in the budget for employees, and they may not have been authorized at either place. Unfortunately, we have no information about his relations with his employers at Laval.[108] We know he was still there in 1839 and that he was no longer employed there in 1842 when another person held the post. The departmental archives at Laval have a number of drawings and other records of his work there, but there is no complete list.

Godefroy was not satisfied at Laval and almost immediately began to seek influence to enable him to move to a more lucrative post. After the Revolution of 1830, his hopes were revived, and he was delighted to be able to blame his troubles on the now unpopular Prince de Polignac,[109] whose cabinet had fallen with the Revolution. Eliza wrote that Polignac had been unwilling to help Godefroy, since the Prince knew that her husband was "incorruptible." Now, with the advent of Louis Philippe, the "magnificent revolution burst upon the world and whispered to suffering merit that it might yet find its level."[110] Godefroy either had, or persuaded himself that he had, a Royalist record which, he thought, should have brought him favors from the restored Bourbons. With the succession of Louis Philippe, he considered that his position was even more favorable. Although there is no evidence to support his claim that it was the Duchess of Orléans, mother of Louis Philippe, who had arranged his escape in 1804, it is possible that she may have taken an interest in this prisoner when she was a refugee in Spain. The Duchess had died in 1821, but Godefroy invoked her memory in petitioning her son, the new King. As before, the Godefroys sought the help of Quéquet, who in turn went to the Duc de Doudeauville. When nothing resulted from this move, Eliza blamed Quéquet, because, as she said, his vanity had led him to insist that Godefroy remain in the background and that everything be done through him. Eliza felt that if the Duke himself had seen Godefroy, "that noble expression of suffering dignity, whose manners and address denoting the perfect Gentleman"[111] the result might have been different.

[108] Letter to the writer from the assistant to the archivist, Monsieur Weber. The inquiry was answered by him in the absence of the archivist. I am grateful to him for this information.

[109] *MdHM*, XXXVI, 17.

[110] *Ibid.*, 17.

[111] *Ibid.*, XXIX, 18.

The Godefroys persisted, and also sought influence elsewhere. David Bailie Warden, with whom Eliza had been in touch years earlier in Baltimore, was still living in Paris and was active in all affairs concerning Americans. Now Eliza wrote him, at what she considered an auspicious moment in view of the change of regime in France. She begged him, invoking his friendship with her father, to do something to "ameliorate" their fate:

> Husband . . . is most solicitous to be appointed Consul General to the U. S. Surely, his knowledge of the country and the language must be at least *some* advantage in such a post—his tried and scrupulous, his tenacious, even chivalrous notions of probity and honour fit him for it still more; . . . the dignity of a great nation . . . [demands that its] representative should be a man of education and polished manners. Merit alas! I know weighs seldom in the balance, as almost all appointments are obtained through favour, and that is the reason . . . I would so earnestly solicit your influence in my Husband's behalf.[112]

In 1831 another misfortune struck the Godefroys. Until that year, Godefroy had continued to enjoy the supplementary income provided by the pension assigned him by the King in 1827. In 1831 the pension was cut off because Godefroy could not take the pauper's oath.[113] This pension was one which had been given somewhat grudgingly to indigent former Royalists, and Godefroy, employed since 1827, was no longer eligible. His own version was that such an oath was too humiliating for him to take and that it had never been required until 1831.

In 1832 Godefroy again appealed to Warden. Eliza had gone to Paris, either to see a publisher about some work of her own, or to try to dispose of some valued possession to a bookseller. Her husband wrote to Warden, "Dear and good Sir, Please continue your friendly kindness to my poor loved one, and help her with advice, so that she may not be cheated either by the bookseller or by the officious go-between, and so that no sharp bees shall come to devour her little drop of honey." [114]

We have no way of knowing to what extent the Godefroys sought or received the charity of old friends. One person who came to their rescue on several occasions was a former student

[112] *MdHM*, XXXVI, 17-18.
[113] Arch. Nat. MS F[13] 638 B.
[114] LC, Warden Papers, Godefroy to Warden, Laval, Oct. 7, 1832.

from St. Mary's College, Ebenezer Jackson.[115] He put up Godefroy on some of his trips to Paris to seek appointments. He may even have supplied the money for the Godefroy's move from England to France. He at least helped them move their possessions, for Eliza wrote of "the immense benefit you rendered Maxime by enabling him to have the wreck of our all moved to France."

Eliza's letters to Warden do not ask him for money, and there is no mention of his having given any, although he used to send her books sometimes at her request, with a view towards translating them for the American market.[116] The Godefroys used Warden frequently in their efforts to reach other persons. At one time, Eliza begged his help in attempting to get in touch with General Devereux[117] whom she had known in Baltimore, but who had ignored her frank appeal for money. Warden, like Devereux, avoided answering her letters.

In 1829 Godefroy asked Warden to help him sell a picture, the "Defeat of Charles XII at Poltava."[118] Godefroy was very proud of this painting, which he said he had painted in prison with very primitive equipment. Through Warden and others, Godefroy tried to interest opulent prospects over a number of years. Among these was Count Pierre Pahlen, who arrived in Paris as Ambassador of Russia in 1835. He had been in America as a young man and had known people in the circles frequented by the Godefroys.[119] Godefroy received, or created the impression, that Pahlen would buy the painting to present to the Czar, but nothing came of it. He also tried to interest Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor of England, probably in France at the time. Lord Lyndhurst had been born in Boston, a son of the painter, John Copley. Godefroy

[115] Ebenezer Jackson, 1796-1874, of Savannah, Ga. He had been at St. Mary's while Godefroy taught there, having graduated in 1813. He was a member of Congress from Connecticut, 1834-1835, and had previously been in the Connecticut Legislature. He was in Europe in 1836-1837, and it was at this time that he saw and helped his old teacher. Members of the Jackson family, notably Mrs. Frederick Wiggin and Mrs. Richard Jackson, have kindly written me about him and his relations with Godefroy.

[116] *MdHM*, XXXVI, 11.

[117] General Devereux was a native of Ireland who had lived in Baltimore and become an American citizen. He returned to Ireland, and from headquarters in a Dublin Hotel he was raising Irish volunteers to go to the aid of the rebelling colonists in Venezuela. (R. Rush, *A Residence at the Court of London* [1845], I, 199-200.)

[118] LC, Warden Papers, Godefroy to Warden, Jan. 25, 1829.

[119] Bonaparte Papers, Louis de Toussard to Bonaparte, Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1811.

also had hopes of selling it to the Marquis of Stafford, owner of a famous Gallery, and husband of one of the Caton girls from Baltimore. All of these efforts failed, but the painting was eventually purchased by Ebenezer Jackson, probably to help his friend.[120]

Sometime in the eighteen-thirties, Godefroy prepared a long Memoir giving an account of his life and listing his artistic achievements. It has been thought that it was written "at the instance of Mr. Ebenezer Jackson . . . when Godefroy was visiting Mr. Jackson in Paris." [121] I find no evidence that it was prepared for him or during a visit to him. Godefroy was in Paris in November, 1836, and staying with the Jacksons. He had plans to see a number of influential or opulent persons, in the hope of selling the picture and also in the hope of getting an appointment other than as a departmental architect.[122] As the Memoir is dated at Laval in January, 1837, it was probably written after he returned to his home following his unsuccessful mission to Paris and with a view to circularizing people who might help him. A copy of this circular came into Jackson's hands, probably from Godefroy himself, and it was found among his family papers many years later.[123]

From recently discovered documents, it is now clear that there are at least two copies of this Memoir in existence and that more may have been made. In the Archives Nationales[124] there is a copy which is practically identical with the one published by Miss Davison and Professor Chinard from the Jackson papers. This copy is also dated at Laval, and almost certainly in January, 1837, although the year is less clearly written in this document. The intention may have been to leave this blank to be filled in later. Both copies were marked "Chez le B[ar]on Trigant-de-la-Tour, conseiller référendaire à la Cour des Comptes, rue Pigale, Chaussée d'Antin no. 8." [125] I believe that this indicates that the Memoir

[120] *MdHM*, XXIX, 118-120. The painting is now owned by descendants of Jackson.

[121] *MdHM*, XXIX, 175. This memoir was published by Miss Davison, with English translation by Professor Chinard, *MdHM*, XXIX, 176-199. I have not seen the copy from which the transcription was made and am quoting from their articles when referring to this copy.

[122] *MdHM*, XXIX, 15-18, 192-193.

[123] *MdHM*, XXIX, 1.

[124] Arch. Nat., MS F[13] 638 B.

[125] The Rev. Father Boyer, S. S., says that the St. M. Arch. show that Trigant had been a student at St. Mary's in 1806 (*The Voice*, May, 1933, p. 13).

was written at Laval and that copies were sent to Paris to be deposited with this official, an old friend, where they could be quickly got at. It is significant that this note is found in Jackson's copy, as well as in the copy in the Archives Nationales which contains no mention of Jackson.

The Archives Nationales copy of Godefroy's Memoir contains in addition a " Postscriptum " of some 450 words, dated at Laval in February, 1840.[126] In it Godefroy wrote of his sorrow over his wife's death and of his distress at all she had suffered by returning with him to his native France. At the end of the postscript Godefroy signed his name and added the words " à son ami le Major W. T. Poussin." Since this copy got into his dossier, and since its location indicates that it had to do with an application for work in the Ministry, rather than with police inquiries, we may conclude that Godefroy sent it to Poussin to be used in recommending him for a job. This confirms, to some extent, the idea that the Memoir had originally been prepared in several copies to be circulated, and that Godefroy, in adding the postscript, was bringing the record up to date for some specific purpose.

The original Memoir of 1837 is one of many evidences of Godefroy's wish to leave Laval. He resented the type of work which filled the working days of a departmental architect—more repair jobs than new constructions and many reports to write. All this he felt to be not only exhausting, but beneath his dignity and contributing towards what he considered his unjustified obscurity. He wanted a museum appointment or an architect's position in one of the Royal residences, even perhaps some sort of work in the Ministry itself.

Madame Godefroy died at Laval on October 2, 1839,[127] at the age of fifty-nine. She died in the Communion of the Roman Catholic Church, for a funeral Mass was celebrated in the church of St. Vénérand, " her parish." It is not known when she had

[126] This date was difficult to decipher. It looked as if it might be either 1840 or 1846. Internal evidence is entirely in favor of the choice of 1840 as the correct date. It is the work of one who has recently lost his wife, and we known that Eliza Godefroy died in October, 1839. It deals exclusively with her and his sorrow, with no reference to anything which had happened since. This would be unusual if the date were 1846.

[127] Archives de la Mayenne, *Laval, Actes de Decès*, 1839; announcement (Lettre de faire part), published by Miss Davison, *MdHM*, XXIX, p. 20. Photostat copy in MdHS.

been received into the Church, but it was probably after she left America.

The postscript to Godefroy's Memoir, written some four months after his wife's death, is the last documentary evidence we have of his existence. In 1842 a new architect was appointed at Laval,[128] but there is no reference to Godefroy's departure. At this date He would have reached the age of seventy-seven and might have retired because of age or disability, if indeed he had not died. The present Curé of St. Vénérand has searched, and has kindly written me, that he finds no trace of Godefroy at all except in connection with his wife's death.[129] I have found no record of him either in Paris or Orléans (Loiret) for this period.

After all these years there are still many unsolved questions about Godefroy and his career. It not even clear in some cases, notably that of St. Mary's Chapel in Baltimore, to what extent he was the architect and to what degree his activities were limited to supervising construction of buildings attributed to him by tradition or by his own statement. We have several instances of cases where he took liberties with facts or let his imagination run wild. He boasted of Napoleon's admiration for him and of the Emperor's intervention in his behalf.[130] Actually, there is no truth whatever in this claim. His dossier contains many appeals, but none to the Emperor, nor were any of the orders issued about Godefroy of a kind which could have emanated from Napoleon. The claim is the more incongruous, when it is recalled that the accusations against Godefroy in 1803-1805 were related, not, as Godefroy would have us believe, to Royalist activities, but rather to plots against the life of Napoleon himself.

Gross exaggeration is to be found in Godefroy's claims of military service in France and in America. General Samuel Smith, on the eve of the departure of the Godefroys in 1819, wrote some sort of certificate about Godefroy's military services. The contents of the certificate are unknown. Godefroy says he was a Colonel of Engineers during the War of 1812 when he " served under the

[128] Letter of Monsieur Weber, Assistant to the Archivist of the Department of the Mayenne, Laval, Sept. 6, 1955.

[129] The Maryland Historical Society has a painting " Fête Champêtre " signed by Godefroy with the date 1847. The signature appears to be original and if the date is also, this proves that Godefroy was alive in that year, at the age of 82.

[130] *MdHM*, XXIX, 197-198.

old flags of American Independence," [131] whatever this may mean. He claims that he was appointed by the Federal government, but there is no record of his having served in the army in any capacity.[132] It is quite possible that his service was with the militia when Baltimore was in danger and that it was very brief.

Although he did not mention it in his Memoir, Godefroy claimed credit for building the two powder magazines in the outworks of Fort McHenry.[133] In Benjamin Latrobe's correspondence, there are several references to Latrobe's hope to place French Engineers in the service of the American Army:

> There is, you know, a violent prejudice among the Federalists against everything French . . . and those who were in the army . . . have been, by degrees, got rid of . . . The Republican party entertain a violent jealousy against all foreigners, Frenchmen particularly. I have been laboring these six years to get employment for Mr Godefroi (Count La Mard) . . . General Dearborn told me they had no occasion for engineers, that he would never consent to employ foreigners, especially not Frenchmen . . .[134]

However, the following year, Godefroy seems to have been consulted about Fort McHenry, for Latrobe wrote him that he had learned this good news from Robert Goodloe Harper.[135] We still have only Godefroy's word that he was employed to do the powder magazines. Since he advertised this in a newspaper, and in Baltimore, we can scarcely doubt his veracity in this. Godefroy also designed a flag in 1818 for the Columbian Volunteers, or Fifth Regiment, Baltimore Militia.[136]

There are many minor details of which Godefroy wrote with apparent inaccuracy, but while we have no confirmation of stories which seem improbable, it is also true that they cannot now be refuted or classified as falsehoods. These include the supposed intervention in his behalf in 1804 of the Duchess of Orléans, the story of his losses in the financial panic in Baltimore prior to leaving, the loss of the valuable family possessions in a storm during the crossing, and finally some of the stories of injuries done him by Benjamin Latrobe.[133] It is impossible to read Gode-

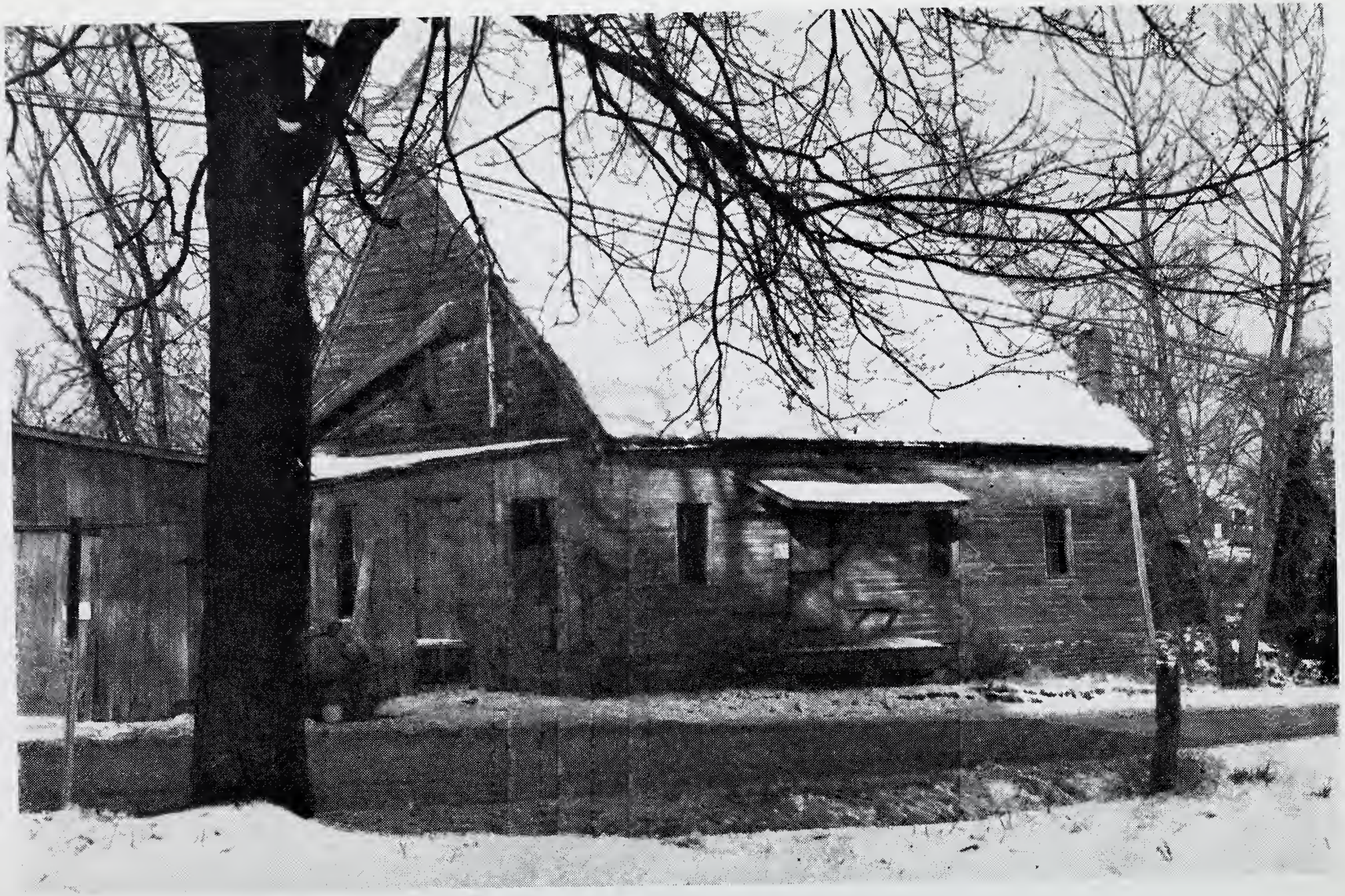
[131] *Ibid.*, XXIX, 182.
[132] The National Archives has no record of his name as a member of the army.
[133] *Federal Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1815. (See *MdHM*, XXIX, 205.)
[134] Hamlin, *Latrobe*, p. 386.
[135] *MdHM*, XXIX, 206.
[136] See Baltimore *American*, Mar. 4, 1819, and photograph of the flag at the MdHS.

froy's letters and memoir without getting the impression that the writer was extremely erratic, perhaps even unbalanced. His sister had worried about his sanity at the time of his arrest in 1803, and one of the police officials had thought him "weak in the head" with "symptoms of insanity." Although we can imagine that his reactions to imprisonment might justify such impressions, and while we might not be surprised to learn that he had feigned insanity for a purpose, we cannot entirely rule out some form of mental illness as an explanation of a state of mind capable of imagining some of the events he describes.

The greatest mystery of all is how, where, and when Godefroy was trained for his profession, for nowhere does he give us a hint of this important phase of his past life. Neither he, nor any of his associates, has mentioned his early training, either in a school, a studio, or as an apprentice, before he set himself up in Baltimore as an architect and engineer. His dossiers in Paris contain an enormous amount of material submitted by him as evidence of his qualifications, but not a word about any training which would have strengthened this evidence. The police scrutinized his record on several occasions, but the dossiers contain no mention of any searches in this direction, which certainly would have been made if he had mentioned his architectural training. In his applications for appointments he listed his achievements abroad, but claimed none in France: the scenes of his foreign triumphs were less accessible to investigators of that day than they might be today; on the other hand, one notation in his dossier about a completed apprenticeship would have weighed more heavily in the balance than a diploma (honorary) from Baltimore. There was, to be sure, one mention of him as an *ingénieur-hydrologue* at the time of his arrest in 1803. Perhaps this was given on his authority alone, but if this was his profession, how was it related to his American career as an architect? Since he later had difficulty in filling an architect's position at Rennes, we must at least recall this in connection with the question of his training.

If we are to believe Godefroy's statements as recorded in his dossiers in Paris, his political activity had begun in 1789 or 1790 when he was twenty-four or twenty-five years old. Prior to this, we have no record of him at all, except for the record of his birth, Paris, 1765, taken from his military record. A young man

of twenty-four would have had plenty of time to have acquired formal training as an architect or engineer by any of the usual means available at that time. Godefroy's work has attracted the attention of interested experts who have found it difficult or impossible to think of that work as done by an untrained man, but people of artistic achievement are usually proud of their training, and we would be less surprised if he were to exaggerate, rather than hide its extent. In speaking of his work, Godefroy cannot be accused of hiding his light under a bushel. What possible explanation can be offered for his reticence in this matter? The financial crises from which he never seemed to be free led him to devote much time throughout his later life to efforts to improve his position. In such cases, he spoke at length of his qualifications. Even if for some unfathomable reason, he preferred not to speak of his training, how could he have avoided doing so, if pressed? We are thus left with three possible explanations of this peculiar behavior, all of which tax our credulity. Godefroy may have had no training at all. Secondly, he may have had training, but because he wished to keep something else about his early life secret, he avoided all mention of everything which occurred during that period. Finally, he may have been a genius in the use of the work of other people, and with experience of a practical nature picked up during his checkered career, he may have found it possible to use stock plans or other drawings not of his own creation.



WYE MILLS BEFORE RESTORATION (1950)

Photo courtesy of Rev. Mason Willis

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THE OLD WYE MILLS, 1690-1956

By Edwin M. Barry

THE Maryland Game and Inland Fish Commission had dreams of reviving the memory of bygone days at the Old Wye Mills. These dreams began to come true in 1953 when the State of Maryland purchased the Wye Mills and prepared to renovate the dam for public fishing recreation. Local citizens then requested that the Wye Mills be deeded to the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, and approval came in 1956 to transfer this jewel of antiquity to the Society, which is dedicated to keeping historical landmarks forever in the memory of mortals.[1]

The old Wye grist and saw mills were intricately interwoven with the struggle of the Maryland settlers to establish homes, create industry and bring into being " harmony between man and the land." [2] The settlers, mostly of English descent, brought with them their native industrial skills, outstanding of which was milling. The first mills (1638) of the area were driven by wind and early records refer to the use of canvas which acted as a sail for increasing the power for these grinding mills. Water power was not used because the terrain lacked rolling hills for impounding water.

The story of Wye Mills is to be found hidden in the musty pages

[1] The author wishes to express his grateful appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Kellogg of Langshaw, Talbot County, for their faithful persistence in arranging for conveyance of the Mills to the Society and to Mrs. Charles W. Williams for her professional effort in preparing the way for the Mills transfer. It is with special thanks that we recognize Miss Margaret W. Stewart, LL. D., of Annapolis for historical research on parts of this report. Ernest A. Vaughn, Director, and Howard Zeller and Guy Rogers, of the Game and Fish Commission played very important parts in the early development of this project and special thanks are acknowledged to Commissioners R. Frank Wimbrow, Royden A. Blunt, George D. Walters, Dr. William B. Holton and W. Desmond Walker for their approval of this transfer.

[2] The following general sources proved helpful in the preparation of the article: Elizabeth Merritt, *Old Wye Church, Talbot County, Maryland, 1694-1941* (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1949). J. Donnell Tilghman, " Wye House," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVIII (1953), 89-108. Samuel A. Harrison's " Annals of Talbot County " in Maryland Historical Society, notebooks into which the loyal Talbot Countian copied everything he could find about the county. Frederic Emory, *History of Queen Anne's County* (Centreville, 1886). Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County Maryland, 1661-1861. Compiled principally from the literary relics of Samuel Alexander Harrison* (Baltimore, 1895), 2 vols.

of the seventeenth century, amid the rent rolls, inaccurate surveys of patent grants, contested wills and other forms of title conveyance. Captain John Sargant (died 1676) was one of the first settlers to receive a grant in the upper reaches of the Wye River. He patented a large tract of land, " Hopewell," and built what is believed to be its first brick house, known as " Peggy's Field Farm " and later " Cloverfield." Here at the head of Wye (East) River, near what was formerly called " Lobs Creek," " Morgan's Creek," " Thomas Branch," or " Williams Branch," he built a pier, cleared land and built boats.

On September 16, 1664, James Scott patented " Old Mill," 250 acres, the land upon which Wye Mills now stand. Early land records reveal that about 1686 Henrietta Lloyd (1647-1697),[3] widow of Philemon Lloyd, acquired timberlands from James Scott (Overseer of Philemon Lloyd).

Numerous grants and surveys were negotiated in the late seventeenth century and in 1680 " The Farm " patent was transferred to Richard Sweatman from William Hemsley.[4] Richard Sweatman enlarged the saw mill, an upright saw on the east side of Delmarva post road, and built a grist mill on the west side of the road. Along with " The Farm " patent, a tract known as " Old Mill " was sold to Richard Sweatman [5] and on this site many large white oak and yellow poplars were cut for St. Paul's Parish.

Wye saw and grist mills were going concerns in 1706. They formed a landmark and meeting place and were mentioned in a boundary survey between Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties in 1706 as " the mills commonly called and known by the name of Swetman's Mill."

In the early 1700's a quarrel developed between Richard Sweatman and Edward Lloyd over title boundary lines. This is very easy to understand since original patent grants were poorly described and frequently overlapped.[6] Searching the records reveals no transfer of title from Sweatman to Lloyd, so we must infer that Edward Lloyd took title to Wye Mills and operated this mill from about 1722 through 1793 by court order in title dispute litigation.[7]

[3] Probated will James Scott, Talbot County, Feb. 4, 1681. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[4] William Hemsley to Richard Sweatman, Liber K. C., no. 5, fol. 81, Land Office, Annapolis.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 61.

[6] Resurvey Hemsley Upon Wye, March 17, 1729, Liber Q. L. no. 4, fol. 404, Talbot County.

[7] Talbot County records no. 26, fol. 616.

Edward Lloyd IV (1744-1796), colonial governor, soldier and planter, held title to more than 30 farms, 305 slaves and 11,884 acres of land patented by his great-grandfathers. Colonel Lloyd supervised this vast holding on Wye River and during the Revolutionary War his Wye Mills furnished flour for the continental armies.

William Hemsley III (1766-1825) of "Cloverfield," who married Maria Lloyd (1784-1804), acquired from Edward Lloyd IV the Wye Mills property on May 27, 1778.[8] He operated the saw and grist mill together with a blacksmith shop. The present Wye Mills looks much as it did at the death of William Hemsley III in 1825, except for the location of the upright water power saw mill on the east side of the "post road" and the disappearance of the busy blacksmith shop filled with the sounds of horse and mule shoe repairs and other metal craftsmanship.

Hemsley's will was written about 1807 and probated in Queen Anne's County Courthouse on July 7, 1812. He willed "part of Cloverfield comprising mansion house to son William, part to sons Thomas and James; wills to son Alexander, Wye Mills, which was bought from Edward Lloyd." The lands of this great estate "Hemsley upon the Wye," later known as "Cloverfield," (1160 acres) were divided among the Hemsley sons and through frequent land tranactions the estate was reduced to small parcels with many owners. The Wye Mills, blacksmith shops, the pond of thirty acres and other tools were sold by Alexander Hemsley to Samuel Hopkins in February, 1821, for $4,000.[9]

The Wye Mill property resided in the Hopkins family from 1821 to 1877 at which time the estate was sold to John F. T. Brown, a miller. The deeds and wills do not yield very much information on the operation and events of the mills during this very important period in history. More research should throw additional light on this era.

John Brown operated the Wye Mills from 1887 to 1899 when on February 6 the holdings were transferred to John S. Sewell [10] who improved the mill and dam and operated the mill with the aid of his son. In November, 1918, John Sewell sold Wye Mills (grist mill, circular saws and mill pond) to Winthrop H. and

[8] Liber T. M., no. 2, fol. 461, Queen Anne's County.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Liber F. R., no. 2, fol. 112, Queen Anne's County.

Mary Scott Blakeslee, formerly of New Jersey. Mr. Blakeslee immediately set about repairing the mill, the spillway and gates. At this date the lake covered about fifty acres at full pool 12.8 feet above sea level. Upon repairing some of the foundation timbers in the old mill, Mr. Blakeslee found a 14" x 14" oak timber with the date 1840 inscribed thereon and this can now be seen by visitors.

In September, 1953, the State of Maryland, by and for the Game and Inland Fish Commission, purchased the Wye Mills property from Blakeslee and from 1953 to 1956 carried out engineering studies in preparation for reconstruction of a permanent spillway dam without gates for public fishing recreation. When the Game and Inland Fish Commission voted in January, 1956, to transfer title of Wye Mills and one acre of land upon which the mills stand to the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the perpetuation of an old, endearing landmark of early seventeenth century life and industry on the Eastern shore was assured to the people of Maryland.[11]

[11] In the "Report of the President of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities," January, 1957, it was stated:

"The restoration of the old Wye Mill in Talbot County, has been substantially achieved through the efforts of the Society coupled with the generosity of an anonymous donor.

"At the beginning of 1956 the S.P.M.A. received a gift of $10,000 to be used for the restoration of the old Wye Mill. The presentation of the mill to the Society from the Inland Fish and Game Commission was made at a ceremony on June 9, at the mill where the work of restoration had already begun.

"Mr. Howard Eley performed the work and had completed it in a most satisfactory manner by the end of July. He did the whole operation for the donated $10,000 at some loss to himself so we are deeply grateful to him.

"The dam which was washed out during the hurricane floods of the Fall of 1955 has not yet been rebuilt but Mr. Vaughn, Director of the Inland Fish and Game Commission, stated in a letter of October 29, 1956 that they anticipate completion of the entire project no later than July 1, 1957.

"We have been advised that the bottom of our intake flume would be 20 inches below the dam spillway so that a reasonable amount of daily drawdown should be possible. Our deed as finally executed includes water rights.

"Looking to the future, it was realized from the start that the work done by Mr. Eley covered only the mill building proper and test funds for the rehabilitation of the machinery, and working capital for operating the mill would have to be raised from other sources. For this purpose the Committee has incorporated as the "Old Wye Mill Society Inc." set up to raise money by the sale of its stock. The original incorporators who constitute the Officers and Directors are: Mrs. Charles W. Kellogg, President, Robert G. Henry, Vice-President, Charles W. Kellogg, Treasurer, Philip W. Moore, Secretary, Howard Eley, and A. Johnson Grymes, Directors.

"It is understood that the S.P.M.A. will lease the mill property to the Corporation for some nominal rental or profit sharing basis to maintain the property as a going concern."

THE BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN

By Warren W. Hassler, Jr.

SEVERAL epic battles of the Civil War stand out above the rest for their awesome carnage as soldiers in blue and gray fought each other with supreme courage and determination. Gettysburg, Shiloh, the Seven Days, Chancellorsville, Vicksburg, and especially Antietam—the bloodiest single day of battle in American history—were such contests. While most Civil War students are aware that, militarily, politically, and diplomatically speaking, Antietam was perhaps the most crucial combat of the war, few writers have pointed out that, in reality Antietam was something of an anticlimax. Actually, the Confederate invasion of the North was halted, not at Sharpsburg, but three days earlier, at South Mountain. After the latter action, all that Major General George B. McClellan had to do was to hold General Robert E. Lee to a draw at Antietam, and the gray incursion of the Old Line State would be defeated, and with it the chief hopes of South. Just how this vast drama unfolded in the hills of Western Maryland comprises this story.

South Mountain is the name given to the Blue Ridge Mountains extending north of the Potomac River along the western edge of Middletown Valley. Here, at three gaps in the mountain wall, was fought the series of desperate engagements known collectively as the Battle of South Mountain or the Battle of Boonsboro.

The tale begins with a routed, disorganized Federal army [1] resting in the environs of Washington—and out there somewhere to the west a triumphant grayclad host splashing northward across the waters of the Potomac into Maryland. It was early in Septem-

[1] George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story: The War for the Union . . .* (New York, 1887), 551-52; Joseph Hooker to Randolph B. Marcy, September 5, 1862, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, 184, cited hereafter as *O. R.*, with all references being to Series I; George G. Meade to his wife, September 12, 1862, George Meade (ed.), *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade . . .* (New York, 1913), I, 309; "Strategy of the Sharpsburg Campaign," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 247-271.

ber, 1862, and Lee was embarked on his first invasion of the loyal Union states. He had just defeated Major General John Pope at Second Bull Run and apparently believed that the blueclad forces, now under McClellan, would be unable to arrest his northward march. To Jefferson Davis, Lee reported, "The two grand armies [2] of the United States that have been operating in Virginia, though now united, are much weakened and demoralized." [3] Lee determined first to secure his communications with Virginia by moving his victorious Army of Northern Virginia, some 60,000 strong,[4] into Western Maryland, thereby opening up the Shenandoah Valley. Then, using the broad avenue of the Cumberland Valley, he would threaten the cities of Pennsylvania. This, thought Lee, would have the effect of drawing McClellan's Army of the Potomac far enough toward the Susquehanna River so as "to afford [Lee] either an opportunity of seizing Baltimore or Washington, or of dealing a damaging blow at the [Union] army far from its base of supplies." In other words, the Southern leader intended "so to manoeuvre as to cause McClellan to uncover" Washington or Baltimore. Lee's route would be first toward Frederick, then on to the western side of South Mountain. He would next establish an advance base of operations at Hagerstown, from which he would march northward into the Keystone State, using the lofty barrier of the South Mountain range as a protective screen for his right flank.[5]

Meanwhile, back in the National capital, the reappointment of McClellan to the command of the Federal army had done much

[2] That is, John Pope's former Army of Virginia, and McClellan's Army of the Potomac, which had just been united under the latter name and placed under McClellan's command.

[3] Lee to Davis, September 3, 1862, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 590.

[4] James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox . . .* (Philadelphia, 1908), 279; Thomas L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865* (Boston, 1900), 92-93; John Codman Ropes, *Story of the Civil War* (New York, 1899), II, 337; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate . . .* (New York, 1907), 223. It must be remembered that in most of the Confederate returns, the numbers given refer only to combatants, "muskets," or effectives; while the Federal reports generally include non-combatants in giving the strength of units (see Jacob Dolson Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* [New York, 1900], I, 286).

[5] Lee's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 145; Francis Winthrop Palfrey, *The Antietam and Fredericksburg* (New York, 1882), 15-16; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 225; *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 604, 605; William Swinton, *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac . . .* (New York, 1866), 198. See also Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants, A Study in Command* (New York, 1943), II, 166.

to dispel some of the gloom pervading the North after the recent defeat at Manassas. But there was no substitute for victory, and affairs were still in a grave condition. "The country is very desponding and much disheartened," wrote Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles in his diary on September 13. "There is a perceptibly growing distrust of the Administration and of its ability and power to conduct the war. . . . It is evident, however, that the reinstatement of McC[lellan] has inspired strength, vigor, and hope in the army. Officers and soldiers appear to be united in his favor and willing to follow his lead." [6] In the ensuing Maryland campaign, "Little Mac," in the handling of his army of some 87,000 men,[7] was to demonstrate a sure grasp of the developing situation on the military chessboard; his orders would be clear, crisp, and positive throughout his advance from Washington into Western Maryland.[8] And well might he feel at ease about the safety of Washington, for no less than 72,500 troops [9] had been left behind to garrison the thirty-three miles of powerful fortifications protecting the capital. However, the Union General-in-Chief, Major General Henry W. Halleck—or "Woodenhead," as he was called—was to remain overly alarmed about the safety of Washington throughout the campaign.

Lee's army reached Frederick on September 8. The Confederate general assumed that his advance into Maryland would certainly cause the immediate evacuation of Harper's Ferry by the Union garrison of 12,500 men [10] there under the command of Colonel Dixon S. Miles.[11] As the New York *Times* war correspondent, William Swinton, stated, Harper's Ferry, "important as against a menace by way of the Shenandoah Valley, became utterly useless now that the Confederates were actually in Maryland; and the garrison, while subserving no purpose, was in imminent danger of capture." [12] Before moving out from Washington, McClellan

[6] John T. Morse, Jr. (ed.), *Diary of Gideon Welles* . . . (Boston, 1911), I, 129.
[7] McClellan's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 67.
[8] See, e. g., *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 239, 271, 289-90.
[9] Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 5-6; Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, II, 336; *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 202, 214.
[10] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 522, 525, 778, Pt. II, 53; Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 199; J. H. Stine, *History of the Army of the Potomac* (Washington, 1893), 157.
[11] Lee's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 145; Lee to Davis, September 12, 1862, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 604; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 225.
[12] Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 200. See also Comte de Paris, *History of the Civil War in America* (Philadelphia, 1875), II, 312.

had urged Halleck that, if the General-in-Chief insisted on keeping the Federal garrison at the Ferry, Miles at least be instructed to get his men out of the militarily indefensible pocket of the town itself and place them atop Maryland Heights, the key position in that area.[13] Later, on September 11, McClellan renewed his plea that Halleck order Miles to evacuate Harper's Ferry at once, since it could not be held against a determined effort by Lee to capture it. McClellan strongly recommended that the garrison be directed to join his field army immediately.[14] But Halleck stupidly insisted that Miles remain at Harper's Ferry in the death-trap.[15]

Halleck's blunder was, however, unwittingly, to cause Lee to make a new departure in his plans. Astounded at the news that the National garrison had been kept at the Ferry, Lee felt obliged to dislodge Miles before continuing his operations west of South Mountain.[16] He could not pass up the opportunity to wipe out or capture 12,500 blueclad troops, or to seize the huge military supplies stored at Harper's Ferry.

On September 9, therefore, Lee determined to send approximately one-half of his army to reduce Miles's force and capture the Ferry. Major General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's command was to march by way of Sharpsburg to invest Harper's Ferry from Bolivar Heights on what is now the West Virginia shore. Brigadier General J. G. Walker's division was to cross the Potomac below the Ferry and assail the town from Loudon Heights in Virginia. Major General Lafayette McLaws' division was to move via Middletown on the road from Frederick to the Ferry and lay siege to the town from Maryland Heights. Jackson was placed in command of the whole operation. Major General James Longstreet's command, accompanied by Lee himself, was to move along the National Road [17] to Boonsboro. These directions were encompassed in what was known as "Special Orders No. 191"—

[13] McClellan's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 26.

[14] McClellan to Halleck, September 11, 1862, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 254. See also *Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Washington, 1863), I, 478, cited hereafter as *C. C. W.*; Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, II, 333.

[15] Halleck to Miles, September 7, 1862, Juilius White, "The Surrender of Harper's Ferry," Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884), II, 612, cited hereafter as *B. & L.*; Halleck to McClellan, September 11, 1862, *C. C. W.*, I, 478; *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 44.

[16] Lee's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 145.

[17] Alternate U. S. 40 today.

subsequently dubbed the "Lost Dispatch." [18] Lee believed that Harper's Ferry could be reduced, Miles's garrison captured, and the two wings of the Confederate army reunited west of South Mountain before being confronted in force by McClellan's army.[19]

Lee issued three copies of this Special Orders No. 191: one to Longstreet, one to Jackson, and one to Major General D. H. Hill. Hill was not at this time under Jackson's orders, but believing that Hill was under his command, Jackson also issued a copy of the special orders to Hill. Therefore, two copies of the same directive were on the way to Hill. Unfortunately for the Southerners, the copy from Lee's headquarters was lost by a careless staff officer near the suburbs of Frederick, and Hill received only the copy from Jackson.[20]

Stonewall's three columns marched out of Frederick on September 10 for their rendezvous at Harper's Ferry, while Lee with Longstreet's command moved from Frederick toward Boonsboro. But before leaving his chieftain, J. G. Walker had an interesting and informative conversation with Lee in Frederick. Lee informed Walker that, after the capture of the Union garrison at Harper's Ferry, he would concentrate his army at Hagerstown and destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Then, he intended to march northward into the Keystone State, capture Harrisburg, tear up the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, and finally move against Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington. When Walker gasped at the boldness of his chief's plans, Lee asked him if he were "acquainted with General McClellan." When Walker replied that he was not, Lee said, "He is an able general but a very cautious one. His enemies among his own people think him too much so. His army is in a very demoralized and chaotic condition, and will not be prepared for offensive operations—or he will not think it so—for three or four weeks. Before that time I hope to be on the Susquehanna." [21] Lee, however, was to be in for a rude awakening as to the capabilities and vigor of McClellan and his Army of the Potomac.

At 10:00 A. M. on September 12—a full day before the finding

[18] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 42; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 228; Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 212; *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 603-604.

[19] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 145; Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 200-201.

[20] Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 229; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 21-22. See also Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II, 715-22.

[21] John G. Walker, "Jackson's Capture of Harper's Ferry," *B. & L.*, II, 605-606.

of the "Lost Dispatch"—McClellan correctly gauged the Confederate intentions and movements in Western Maryland. "I feel perfectly confident," he declared in a telegram to Halleck, "that the enemy has abandoned Frederick, moving in two directions, viz: On the Hagerstown and Harper's Ferry roads." [22] Just a few hours earlier, Halleck had finally placed Miles's garrison at the

SOUTH MOUNTAIN

Ferry under McClellan's command. "You will endeavor," the General-in-Chief wired McClellan, "to open communication with him, and unite your forces to his at the earliest moment." [23] But Halleck's belated order came too late to save the doomed Federal garrison.[24]

[22] McClellan to Halleck, September 12, 1862, *C. C. W.*, I, 482.
[23] Halleck to McClellan, September 12, 1862, *ibid.*, 483.
[24] See Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 201.

A look now at the situation on the military chessboard as it was on the evening of September 13 will better enable the reader to comprehend the ensuing events. By that evening, McClellan's various units had reached the following places: Pleasonton's cavalry command was near the eastern foot of the South Mountain range; Couch's division was at Licksville; Franklin's Sixth Corps was at Buckeystown; Sykes's division was at Frederick, as were Sumner's Second Corps, Mansfield's Twelfth Corps, Hooker's First Corps, and Rodman's division of the Ninth Corps; the rest of Reno's Ninth Corps was at Middletown.[25]

On the Confederate side, on the evening of the 13th, Lee's forces were disposed as follows: Jackson's three columns were closing in on Harper's Ferry; Longstreet's two divisions, accompanied by Lee in person, were near Hagerstown; D. H. Hill's division was on the National Road between Boonsboro and Turner's Gap in the South Mountain; J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry was holding the passes of South Mountain.[26]

When the Army of the Potomac entered loyal Frederick, the happy townsfolk tried to outdo each other in heaping gifts of food, fruit, and fresh water upon the dusty blueclad soldiers. This exhibition of gratitude and support was in marked contrast to the cool, almost hostile reception which the Confederate troops had experienced a few days previously when they had wended their way through the streets of the quaint town.[27] McClellan wrote to his wife of the scene which he encountered in riding through Frederick: "I can't describe to you for want of time the enthusiastic reception we met with. . . . I was nearly overwhelmed and pulled to pieces. I enclose with this a little flag that some enthusiastic lady thrust into or upon Dan's bridle. As to flowers—they came in crowds! In truth, I was seldom more affected than by the scenes I saw yesterday and the reception I

[25] *Letter of the Secretary of War, Transmitting Report on the Organization of the Army of the Potomac, and of its Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland, under the Command of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, from July 26, 1861, to November 7, 1862* (Washington, 1864), 186, 195, cited hereafter as McClellan's *Report*; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 13-14.

[26] See Matthew Forney Steele, *American Campaigns* (Washington, 1922), I, 265.

[27] Francis A Walker, *History of the Second Army Corps . . .* (New York, 1886), 93-94.

met with. . . . Men, women, and children crowded around us, weeping, shouting, and praying." [28]

Then came one of those strokes of fortune which occasionally affect great events. The Federal Twelfth Corps had bivouacked outside of Frederick on ground previously occupied by D. H. Hill's Confederate troops. On September 13, Sergeant John M. Bloss and Private B. W. Mitchell of Company F, Twenty-seventh Indiana regiment, reclining on the ground, discovered a brown package near them. It was found to contain three cigars, about which was wrapped a sheet of paper containing writing. Upon examination, the two soldiers saw that the paper gave names and positions of enemy divisions. The paper was sent through channels to McClellan's headquarters, reaching him sometime before 6:20 P. M. on the 13th. This document turned out to be the lost copy of Lee's important Special Orders No. 191, drawn up by the Southern commander on the 9th. It gave some of the plans, objectives, and positions of Lee's units as of four days previous.[29]

Believing that Lee had about 120,000 men under his command,[30] McClellan was fearful at first that the "Lost Dispatch" was a *ruse de guerre*. After confirming its authenticity,[31] however, McClellan asserted to one of his brigadiers that this opportunity should enable him to "whip 'Bobbie Lee.'" [32] Of course, the Union commander did not know of any changes in orders or plans which might well have been made by Lee during the four days existence of the lost dispatch.[33] And such a change had, in fact, been made by his opponent. The lost order placed Longstreet's command at Boonsboro; whereas, in reality, his position had been changed by Lee to Hagerstown, thirteen miles further west. Therefore, McClellan was led to believe that D. H. Hill *and* Longstreet were both in or very near Boonsboro and the South Mountain passes on September 13 and 14. Accordingly, the

[28] McClellan to his wife, September 14, 1862, *McClellan's Own Story*, 571-572; see also A. P. Smith, *History of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment, New York Volunteers . . .* (Cortland, N. Y., 1867), 149-50.

[29] Silas Colgrove, "The Finding of Lee's Lost Order," *B. & L.*, II, 603; *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 42; William Allan, *The Army of Northern Virginia in 1862 . . .* (Cambridge, 1892), 343; Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 159.

[30] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. II, 281; McClellan to Halleck, September 13, 1862, *C. C. W.*, I, 485-86.

[31] Colgrove, *op. cit.*, *B. & L.*, II, 603.

[32] John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (New York, 1928), 73.

[33] See Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 213.

Federal commander moved more cautiously and slowly against this supposed heavy force of graycoats than he would ordinarily have done. " The losing of the dispatch," declares Hill, " was the saving of Lee's army. . . . In the battle of South Mountain the imaginary foes of the Lost Dispatch were worth more to us than ten thousand men." [34] McClellan noted also that the lost order revealed Lee's intention of concentrating his whole army (including Jackson's forces then investing Harper's Ferry) at Boonsboro, not at South Mountain. As Brigadier General Jacob D. Cox of the Union army says, " McClellan's orders and correspondence show that he expected a battle at Boonsboro, but not at South Mountain or east of it." [35]

With the unfolding drama having reached this stage of development, " South Mountain," in the words of Colonel Joseph B. Mitchell, " was the key to the situation." [36] " With the knowledge afforded by securing Lee's ' lost order ' the passes of the South Mountain became important points," writes Longstreet, Lee's senior corps commander.[37] Therefore, in order to learn for certain the precise nature of the enemy's position and designs, McClellan was obliged to penetrate as rapidly as possible the imposing barrier of the high range.[38] Yet, according to Longstreet, there was another element in the Union commander's favor: " It seems that up to the night of the 13th most of the Confederates were . . . not thinking it possible that a great struggle at and along the range of South Mountain was impending. . . . General Lee still held to the thought that he had ample time. . . . The hallucination that McClellan was not capable of serious work seemed to pervade our army, even at this moment of dreadful threatening." [39]

McClellan's reaction to the advantage given him by the discovery of the lost dispatch was energetic. He saw that if his left wing, under Franklin, could swiftly penetrate Crampton's Gap in the South Mountain it would then be in the rear of McLaws' gray force investing Harper's Ferry from Maryland Heights. This

[34] D. H. Hill, " The Battle of South Mountain, or Boonsboro," *B. & L.*, II, 570, 573.
[35] See Jacob D. Cox, " Forcing Fox's Gap and Turner's Gap," *ibid.*, 585.
[36] Joseph B. Mitchell, *Decisive Battles of the Civil War* (New York, 1955), 93.
[37] Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 216.
[38] John W. Thomason, Jr., *Jeb Stuart* (New York, 1944), 269.
[39] Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 219-20.

reasoning was all based on the supposition that Miles's Federal force at the Ferry could hold out for a while longer. The National commander also perceived that if his right wing, under Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, could breach Turner's Gap in the mountain wall, it might be able to interpose itself between the separated enemy forces of Longstreet and Hill, and Jackson.[40] Accordingly, in a move that was to upset all of Lee's calculations, McClellan, at 6:20 P. M. on the 13th, ordered a swift movement by his left wing.[41] Franklin, then at Buckeystown, was directed to march at daybreak on the 14th toward Rohersville by way of Jefferson, Burkittsville, and Crampton's Gap. From the latter point, Franklin was to move against McLaws' force on Maryland Heights, defeat it, and thereby relieve Miles at Harper's Ferry. In other words, the Union left wing was to intervene between the forces of Jackson and Longstreet. "My general idea," said McClellan to Franklin, "is to cut the enemy in two and beat him in detail." The Federal commander concluded his directive to Franklin by stating, "I ask of you, at this important moment, all your intellect and the utmost activity that a general can exercise." [42] While the game on the Union left was now in Franklin's hands, the right wing of the Army of the Potomac was instructed to march at daylight on the 14th toward Turner's Gap on the National Road.[43]

It is conceivable that McClellan could perhaps have pushed his weary legions onward still further on the night of September 13, but they would probably have been far too exhausted to have given a good account of themselves offensively in the battle of the 14th. As it was, McClellan's orders on the evening of the 13th show that, for a circumspect general, he was acting with unusual speed. Lee acknowledged in his official report that the Federal commander "immediately began to push forward rapidly." [44] One of Stonewall Jackson's staff officers wrote that "the plans of [McClellan] were quickly and skillfully made." [45] The

[40] See Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 27-28.
[41] See Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 201.
[42] McClellan to Franklin, September 13, 1862—6:20 P. M., Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 28-29.
[43] *Ibid.*, 30.
[44] Lee's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 146. See also Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography* (New York, 1934), II, 367.
[45] Henry Kyd Douglas, "Stonewall Jackson in Maryland," *B. & L.*, II, 624.

eminent military scientist and biographer of Jackson, G. F. R. Henderson, declared that "McClellan had acted with unexpected vigor." [46] Another military commentator, Colonel William Allan of the Confederate army, stated that "a comparatively rapid advance was ordered." [47] The Count of Paris felt that, in his reaction to the exigency of the moment, "McClellan . . . displayed great activity." [48]

If, before September 13, Lee had discounted dynamic action by McClellan, he was certainly forced to change his opinion by that evening. Word reached him then that, earlier on the 13th, Union cavalry had defeated Confederate mounted men along the National Road at the pass in the Catoctin range, and that there had been several brushes with the blue forces at Middletown. Lee also received the information that the lost dispatch had fallen into McClellan's hands.[49] He saw that the one sure way to prevent McClellan from interposing between the two separated halves of the Confederate army was to hold the gaps of the South Mountain against the Federal advance. In the words of Douglas Southall Freeman, "a defensive barrier that Lee had planned to disregard, in order to lure McClellan westward, suddenly had become indispensable to the plan of operations." [50] The Southern chieftain quickly issued new orders: D. H. Hill was to cooperate with "Jeb" Stuart in holding the South Mountain passes; Longstreet was to countermarch from Hagerstown as rapidly as possible to succor Hill.[51] Another reason for holding the mountain passes on the 14th was that additional time was needed for the Confederate reserve artillery and ordnance trains to reach a point of safety beyond the eager tentacles of the Union cavalry.[52]

Early on the morning of September 14, a personal messenger from Miles arrived at McClellan's headquarters. He delivered a

[46] .G F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (London and New York, 1898), II, 226.

[47] Allan, *Army of Northern Virginia*, 344.

[48] Comte de Paris, *The Civil War*, II, 332.

[49] Reports of Pleasonton and Stuart, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 209, 816-17; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 230; Allan, *Army of Northern Virginia*, 345; Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 201.

[50] Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II, 171.

[51] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 140, 145. See also *B. & L.*, II, 560-61; Edward A. Pollard, *The Second Year of the War* (New York, 1865), 126.

[52] Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee, or The History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia* . . . (Lynchburg, Va., 1915), I, 292.

note which stated that the Federal garrison of some 12,500 men at Harper's Ferry would be able to hold out for two more days—that is, until the 16th.[53] This was welcome news to Little Mac. He soon had three couriers speeding on their way with copies of a vital order for Miles at the Ferry. This directive stated that McClellan was then assailing the gaps of South Mountain. "You may count on our making every effort to relieve you," the message continued. "You may rely upon my speedily accomplishing that object. Hold out to the last extremity. If it is possible, reoccupy the Maryland heights with your whole force. If you can do that, I will certainly be able to relieve you. . . . Hold out to the last." [54] Unfortunately for the Federals, before this garrison had been placed under McClellan's orders, Miles had literally obeyed Halleck's earlier order to hold Harper's Ferry by actually determining to hold the town itself. This placed the Union garrison in a death-trap, because the town is in a deep pocket which is completely surrounded by the three dominant heights overlooking it. Truly, these blueclad soldiers were being offered up for the taking—and the redoubtable Stonewall was not the one to disappoint them.

Sunday, September 14, 1862, was hot and clear in the forenoon, but in the afternoon and evening hours the sky became overcast with heavy clouds.[55] In accordance with McClellan's orders, Franklin, at daybreak, began his movement against Crampton's Gap, which was defended by detachments of McLaws' and Stuart's commands. Burnside, at the same time, commenced his march toward Turner's Gap, held by D. H. Hill, later reinforced by Longstreet.[56] Burnside's battle at Turner's and Fox's Gaps will be dealt with first, although it must be borne in mind that Franklin's combat at Crampton's Gap was taking place simultaneously.

The South Mountain wall was a splendid defensive rampart for the Confederates.[57] Troops placed on it could, if properly

[53] McClellan's *Report*, 191; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 25; American Historical Association, *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase* (Washington, 1903), 81; Ezra D. Simons, *A Regimental History: The One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth New York State Volunteers* (New York, 1888), 32.

[54] McClellan to Miles, September 14, 1862, McClellan's *Report*, 191.

[55] A. F. Hill, *Our Boys, The Personal Experiences of a Soldier* (Philadelphia, 1864), 394.

[56] Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 202; J. R. Sypher, *History of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps . . .* (Lancaster, Pa., 1865), 362.

[57] See, e. g., William H. Powell, *The Fifth Army Corps . . .* (New York, 1896), 265; An English Combatant, *Battle-Fields of the South . . .* (New York, 1864),

handled, hold back several times their own number.[58] The steep slopes of the mountain were in most places covered with dense woods and underbrush, ledges of rock, and numerous stone fences.[59] The National Road penetrates the 1,300 foot mountain wall at Turner's Gap—a pass some 400 feet below the summit. The only other practicable pass in that vicinity is Fox's Gap,[60] one mile south of Turner's. At Bolivar Post Office, on the National Road, near the eastern foot of the range, Old Sharpsburg Road [61] branches off to the left (south), then curves around in a westerly direction and crosses the mountain at Fox's Gap. Also at Bolivar Post Office, Old Hagerstown Road turns off to the right (north) and passes through Mt. Tabor Church, then ascends the mountain, reaching its summit one mile north of Turner's Gap. From here it runs south along the crest until it again intersects the National Road at Turner's at the so-called Mountain House (an inn situated along the southern side of the pike). A mountain-top road also runs along the crest from Fox's Gap to the Mountain House.[62]

The most important crossing of the South Mountain is the one at Turner's Gap on the National Road. South of the pike there is but one main crest of the mountain range. But, in the words of a Union officer, Brigadier General Francis W. Palfrey, " the mountain on the north side of the main road is divided into two crests by a narrow valley, which is deep where it touches the road, but much less so a mile to the north." [63] If assaulted frontally, even in superior numbers, the occupied heights promised bloody repulse for the Federals.[64] However, as war correspondent

470-71; Theodore B. Gates, *The "Ulster Guard" (20th N. Y. State Militia) and the War of the Rebellion . . .* (New York, 1879), 298, 301; Longstreet, *Mannassas to Appomattox*, 218; A. L. Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee . . .* (New York, 1886), 214; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, II, 365.

[58] Hooker's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 214; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 38; William Henry Locke, *The Story of the Regiment* (New York, 1872), 120.

[59] J. B. Hood, *Advance and Retreat . . .* (New Orleans, 1880), 40; Hooker's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 214; Oliver C. Bosbyshell et al (ed.), *Pennsylvania at Antietam . . .* (Harrisburg, 1906), 216.

[60] Known also as Braddock's Gap.

[61] Known also as the Braddock Road, said to be the route taken in the French and Indian War by Gen. Edward Braddock in his ill-fated campaign toward Pittsburgh.

[62] The best maps of this region are: *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Plate XXVII, Map 3; *B. & L.*, II, 568.

[63] Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 33. For a further description of Turner's Gap, see *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 48; Cox, *op. cit.*, *B. & L.*, II, 585.

[64] Locke, *Story of the Regiment*, 120.

Swinton pointed out, " the gap itself is unassailable; but there is a practicable road over the crest to the [Union] right of the pass, and another to the left [at Fox's Gap]. The key-point of the whole position is a rocky and precipitous peak which dominates the ridge to the right [or north] of the pass." [65] According to Palfrey, " the ground was little known to our commanders." [66] But the Confederate officers had been in the vicinity for several days.

In the battle about to ensue—unlike the one just fought at Manassas—Federal morale was good, due chiefly to the fact that McClellan was again at the head of the Army of the Potomac.[67] Southern *élan* was high, too, for the graycoats were riding on a tide of success up to this point. As far as numbers are concerned, it is impossible to state with absolute accuracy the total engaged at South Mountain. According to Livermore, 28,480 Federals were engaged, while some 18,714 Confederate effectives were brought into battle.[68] Eighteen Union brigades were pitted against fourteen grayclad ones. Palfrey thinks that " it is probable that the Federals outnumbered the Confederates to some extent, but probably not to a great extent." [69] Certainly, given the superiority of the Southern position on the mountain, McClellan had need of as great a preponderance of force as he could muster.

Early on the morning of September 14, Pleasonton's Union cavalry, riding westward along the National Road, discovered the two roads which branch off to the left and right at Bolivar Post Office. Pleasonton soon began skirmishing with the enemy and pushed forward investigative probes at the eastern foot of both Turner's and Fox's Gaps.[70] He soon saw that infantry supports were necessary. Fortunately for the Federals these were close at hand. Burnside's wing of the Army of the Potomac reached Bolivar Post Office in mid-morning of the 14th. There, Reno's Ninth

[65] Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 202. See also Comte de Paris, *The Civil War*, II, 320-31; Peter S. Michie, *General McClellan* (New York, 1901), 409; and Hooker's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 1020.

[66] Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 33.

[67] Regis DeTrobriand, *Four Years with the Army of the Potomac* (Boston, 1889), 320-21.

[68] Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 90. See also Sypher, *Pennsylvania Reserves*, 373.

[69] Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 138.

[70] Pleasonton's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 209-10; Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 221.

Corps was turned off to the left on the Old Sharpsburg Road to attack Fox's Gap, while Hooker's First Corps was moved off to the right on the Old Hagerstown Road to outflank Turner's Gap on the north. In the meantime, Brigadier General John Gibbon's famed Iron Brigade was instructed to march directly up the pike toward Turner's Gap and engage the enemy in front while the Union flank attacks were developing.[71]

In his early morning skirmishing, Pleasonton had been aided at Fox's Gap, first by elements of Colonel E. P. Scammon's brigade of Cox's Kanawha Division, and shortly afterward by troops of Cox's Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel George Crook.[72] The really heavy infantry fighting, however, did not begin in earnest at Fox's until 9:00 A. M.[73] Then, Cox's two brigades, moving chiefly on the south side of the Old Sharpsburg Road, encountered the Confederate brigade of Brigadier General Samuel Garland, assisted by the right wing of Colonel A. H. Colquitt's. The clash was instant and furious, and in many places, hand to hand.[74] Although somewhat outnumbered, the graycoats had the advantage of position and were firing down the throats of the Union men as they struggled up the steep slope. In the decisive action, the Twenty-Third Ohio regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes, swept around the Confederate right flank and completely enveloped it.[75] (In this fight it was the duty of Sergeant William McKinley, of the Twenty-Third, to bring forward rations to the embattled troops in blue.) Early in the combat, near the moment of success, Hayes, while leading his regiment in the charge, fell severely wounded in the arm. He refused to leave the field, however, until compelled to do so by loss of blood.[76]

By 10:00 A.M., Garland was dead, and his grayclad brigade routed. The outcome of the battle is best described in the words of Cox: "The high knoll on the left was carried, the enemy's center was completely broken and driven down the mountain, while on the right our men pushed the routed Carolinians beyond

[71] Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 161; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 33-34.
[72] Pleasonton's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 209-10.
[73] Hill, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 563; Cox, *op. cit., ibid.*, 586-87.
[74] Cox, *op. cit., ibid.*, 587.
[75] Reports of Cox and Scammon, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 458, 459, 461; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 34-35.
[76] Reports of Cox and Scammon, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 460, 461.

the Sharpsburg road, through Wise's fields, and up the slope of the crest toward the Mountain House at Turner's Gap." [77] The Confederate commander on the field, D. H. Hill, admits of " the utter rout and dispersion of Garland's brigade " by ten o'clock. He then states that, some thirty minutes later, the brigade of Brigadier General George B. Anderson " made an effort to recover the ground lost by Garland, but failed and met a serious repulse." [78]

A lull now occurred in the battle, during which both sides brought up reinforcements before renewing the contest. A little before noon, Hill sent the brigade of Brigadier General Roswell S. Ripley to assist G. B. Anderson's remnants at the crest at Fox's Gap, while Brigadier General Robert E. Rodes's brigade was deployed on the eastermost crest of the mountain just north of Turner's Gap.[79]

There had been no fighting of any consequence in the morning hours at Turner's Gap, although it seems that Burnside could have attacked with advantage there with Hooker's First Corps before noon.[80] Then McClellan arrived on the field in person, and reconnoitered along the Old Hagerstown Road in close proximity to the enemy.[81] Shortly afterward, he set up his command post with Burnside along the National Road at the eastern foot of the mountain, and assumed direct command of the battle.[82] As at Fox's, so too at Turner's, the superior position of the Confederates enabled them to use their artillery more effectively than the Federals.

At about 2:00 P. M., Hooker's First Corps, directed by McClellan to assail the enemy left flank a mile to the north of Turner's Gap, began moving up the Old Hagerstown Road via Mt. Tabor Church. While this flanking operation was underway, Hill was being reinforced by the somewhat jaded troops of Longstreet's command, which had rapidly countermarched from Hagerstown

[77] Cox, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 587. See also Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 221-22.

[78] Hill, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 567.

[79] See *ibid.*, 568.

[80] Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 204.

[81] Benjamin F. Cook, *History of the Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers . . .* (Boston, 1882), 67.

[82] McClellan's *Report*, 196; Comte de Paris, *The Civil War*, II, 321; Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 172.

to augment the gray force seeking to hold the mountain gaps. Hill's threatened right, in the vicinity of Fox's Gap, was bolstered by the arrival of the brigades of Colonel George T. Anderson, Brigadier General Thomas F. Drayton, Colonel E. M. Law, and Brigadier General John B. Hood. And, a little later in the afternoon, Rodes's position north of Turner's Gap was strengthened by the arrival of more of Longstreet's brigades: those of Brigadier General Richard B. Garnett, Brigadier General James L. Kemper, Colonel Joseph Walker, and Brigadier General Nathan G. Evans.[83]

Moving up the Old Hagerstown Road beyond Mt. Tabor Church, the Union First Corps was deployed for action against the Confederate left approximately one mile north of Turner's. The division of Brigadier General James B. Ricketts was placed in line of battle immediately to the left of the road. On Ricketts' left was the division of Brigadier General John P. Hatch (minus Gibbon's Iron Brigade, which had been ordered to advance directly up the National Pike). On Ricketts' immediate right, on the right side of the Old Hagerstown Road, was the famed Pennsylvania Reserve division, commanded by Brigadier General George G. Meade. One of Meade's brigades—that of Brigadier General Truman Seymour—was selected to turn and envelop the Confederate left flank.[84]

As the soldiers in blue prepared in mid-afternoon to storm up the steep slope of the mountain, they could not help but notice the extremely rugged enterprise confronting them.[85] Not only did they have to scale the precipitous mountainside with the enemy above them, but they had to try to rout the graycoats out from behind stone walls, trees, bushes, and boulders.[86] Even today, it would seem like a hopeless assignment.

At the word of command, Hooker's men swept forward. In the words of the Confederate general, D. H. Hill, "the [Union] advance was steady and made almost with the precision of movement of a parade day."[87] The Federals met with ferocious resistance, especially from Rodes's embattled brigade. However, at

[83] See *B. & L.*, II, 568.
[84] See *Official Records Atlas,* Plate XXVII, Map 3.
[85] John D. Vautier, *History of the 88th Pennsylvania Volunteers* . . . (Philadelphia, 1894), 71.
[86] Sypher, *Pennsylvania Reserves*, 368; John Robertson, *Michigan in the War* (Lansing, 1882), 375-76; Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 167.
[87] Hill, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 572.

a few points, as testified to by Union eyewitnesses, " the enemy . . . made the very common mistake of soldiers when firing from an elevated position—that of firing too high." [88] But in most other areas, the execution was fearful. The historian of a New York regiment writes that " the Seventy-sixth was probably never engaged in a more severe and deadly fight than at South Mountain. During the whole battle, the range was so short, and both sides fired with such precision, that the volleys told with awful effect." [89] " Fields of corn were trampled into shreds, forests were battered and scathed, huge limbs sent crashing to earth, rent by shell or round shot. Grape and canister mingled their hissing screams in this helling carnival," stated another soldier.[90] Said captured Major Meanes of the Seventeenth South Carolina to a blueclad soldier: " Your men fight like devils; they are driving our men right up this steep mountain; I never could have believed it." [91]

It was true. Although the bloody combat on the Union right lasted until dark, the First Corps men succeeded in pressing the hard-fighting Southerners from the important crest to the north of Turner's Gap, thus rendering that vital pass untenable for the Confederates on the morrow.[92] Hill acknowledges that " on our left [the] commanding hill was lost before night " to the Federals.[93]

As Hooker was waging his long but victorious combat to wrest the mountain crest to the north of Turner's from the Confederates, there was occurring at the same time a hard and protracted battle at Fox's Gap. Here, Reno's Ninth Corps was striving to clear the reinforced grayclads from any remaining foothold on the summit south of the Mountain House. Reno had deployed Rodman's division on the right of the Old Sharpsburg Road, with that of Brigadier General Orlando B. Willcox on Rodman's left on the south side of the road. Continuing Reno's line of battle

[88] Charles E. Davis, Jr., . . . *The Story of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers* . . . (Boston, 1894), 133; Gates, *Ulster Guard*, 296-97.

[89] Smith, *Seventy-Sixth New York*, 153.

[90] Hillman A. Hall, et al., *History of the Sixth New York Cavalry* . . . (Worcester, Mass., 1908), 60-61.

[91] A. F. Hill, *Our Boys*, 397.

[92] The best accounts of the fighting on the Union right to the north of Turner's Gap are: Meade's report, Sypher, *Pennsylvania Reserves*, 368-73; the reports of Hooker and Rodes, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 214-16, 1036; Hill, *Our Boys*, 395-97; Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 167-69. See also *Official Records Atlas*, Plate XXVII, Map 3.

[93] Hill, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 571.

to the south was the division of Brigadier General Samuel D. Sturgis, on Willcox's left. Then, on the extreme Federal left, flanking the Confederate right, was Cox's Kanawha division.[94]

In the late afternoon, at approximately 4:00 P. M., Reno sent his whole battle line forward. Cox sums up the picture on his front in these words: " the struggle . . . on the part of the Confederates [was] to drive back our center and left, where we held the highest summits of the mountain, and on our part to push forward our right so as to gain the one elevation they still held on our side of the National road, at the Mountain House." [95] In bitter fighting, which lasted until well after dark, " good progress was made by both Sturgis and Willcox, but the fastness at the Mountain House had not been carried when darkness fell upon the field." [96] However, with Cox's division having outflanked the Confederate right and now menacing their rear, here too, as north of Turner's, the gray position had been rendered useless for further serious resistance on the following day, September 15. Some 600 Southern prisoners had been captured by Cox's division alone.[97] Hill, in his official report, admits that Longstreet's brigades " were broken and scattered " by the impetuous Union attack at Fox's.[98]

But a sad misfortune befell the Federals at the climax of their successful assault at Fox's Gap. The Union commander there, Jesse Reno, was fatally wounded (in the thigh and groin) at approximately 7:00 P. M.[99] McClellan's tribute to the fallen Ninth Corps leader was made in his official report: " In General Reno the nation lost one of its best general officers. He was a skilful soldier, a brave and honest man." [100] This was a sentiment voiced by soldiers of both sides who fought at South Mountain.[101]

The Confederates had an equally sad misfortune in the loss of General Samuel Garland. The thirty-two-year-old Garland was termed by D. H. Hill, " The most fearless man I ever knew, a

[94] See *Official Records Atlas*, Plate XXVII, Map 3.
[95] Cox, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 588.
[96] *Ibid.*, 589.
[97] *Ibid.*, 590.
[98] See Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 38.
[99] Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 223.
[100] McClellan's *Report*, 197.
[101] See, e. g., Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 223; Walker, *Second Corps*, 95; Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, II, 344, and Thomas H. Parker, *History of the 51st Regiment of P. V. and V. V.* . . . (Philadelphia, 1869), 227.

Christian hero, a ripe scholar, and most accomplished gentleman." At another point, Hill declared that Garland had "no superiors and few equals in the service." To Lee, Garland was a "brave and accomplished young officer." [102]

Back on the National Road, a rather isolated and indecisive action had been taking place—one which lasted from late afternoon until after dark. Gibbon's Iron Brigade, in order to hold the attention of at least one Confederate brigade along the pike directly in front of Turner's Gap, had been ordered to press forward toward the pass along both sides of the road. Encountering Colquitt's brigade, Gibbon was obliged to dig the enemy out from behind one stone wall after another. So desperate was the Southern resistance, and so favorable was the terrain for defensive efforts, that, although making considerable gains, the Union troops were unable to push Colquitt completely through the pass and win the crest at the Mountain House. Nonetheless, Gibbon had succeeded in preventing the opposing brigade from participating in the decisive combats elsewhere on the field.[103]

Although not actively engaged, Sumner's Second Union Corps had been brought up by McClellan in close support at Turner's and Fox's Gaps at approximately 10:00 P. M.[104] But the fall of darkness prevented Sumner from being used to advantage. The Confederates, however, though still retaining a toehold on the summit in the vicinity of the Mountain House, had elsewhere been driven from the mountain-top. In the words of "Fighting Joe" Hooker, the "the enemy . . . between 12 and 1 o'clock [on the morning of September 15] commenced a hurried and confused retreat, leaving his dead on our hands and his wounded uncared for." [105]

While McClellan and Burnside were fighting at Turner's and Fox's Gaps, another part of the Battle of South Mountain was taking place at Crampton's Gap, six miles south of Turner's. The Confederate division of McLaws was still besieging Harper's Ferry from Maryland Heights—the name given to the southern tip of Elk Ridge, some six miles southwest of Crampton's Gap.

[102] Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II, 250 n.
[103] Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 161-64.
[104] Walker, *Second Corps*, 95; Warren Lee Goss, *Recollections of a Private, A Story of the Army of the Potomac* (New York, 1890), 103.
[105] Hooker's report, Davis, *Thirteenth Massachusetts*, 134.

McLaws was responsible also for the defense of the latter pass. Should the Federals be permitted to penetrate the gap on the 14th, and should Miles' Union garrison hold out at the Ferry for a day or two longer, McLaws' force on Maryland Heights would either be driven away or else caught between two hostile blue forces.

Crampton's Gap was held on the morning of September 14 by Colonel Thomas T. Munford's gray cavalry brigade. But, learning that Franklin's Federal Sixth Corps was nearing the pass, McLaws dispatched three infantry brigades to assist Munford in holding the important gap. These were the brigades of Colonel W. A. Parham, Brigadier General Paul J. Semmes, and Brigadier General Howell Cobb—the whole force being under the command of Cobb.[106] The latter was instructed to hold Crampton's Gap to the last man if necessary.[107]

Swinging down the road from Burkittsville to the pass, Franklin determined to hurl the bulk of his men immediately upon the strong Confederate position. He saw that many of the enemy troops were posted behind a stone wall at the eastern foot of the mountain to the right (north) of the road and perpendicular to it. Other grayclad soldiers were on the steep slope of the mountain and on its crest. Again, as at Turner's and Fox's, so too at Crampton's Gap, the Southern artillery and infantry had the stronger, more elevated positions. Even though outnumbered by Franklin's forces, it seemed that Cobb might well be able to take advantage of his superb defensive station and thwart the Union efforts at penetrating the pass.

After a rapid reconnaissance, Franklin deployed Major General Henry W. Slocum's division to the right (north) of the road to confront directly Cobb's troops situated behind the stone wall. Slocum placed the brigade of Colonel A. T. A. Torbert on his left, just to the right of the road. On Torbert's right, and in the center of Slocum's line, was Brigadier General John Newton's brigade. And on the extreme Union right was the brigade of Colonel Joseph J. Bartlett, destined to bear the heaviest brunt of the fighting and to suffer the highest casualties. After Slocum became engaged frontally with the Confederates, Franklin de-

[106] See map in *B. & L.*, II, 593.
[107] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 854; Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 204 n.

ployed Major General William F. ("Baldy") Smith's division to the left (south) of the road to outflank and envelop the enemy right. The brigade of Brigadier General W. T. H. Brooks was in the front line of the flanking column, with that of Colonel William H. Irwin in the second line immediately in the rear.[108]

Franklin's plans worked perfectly. About 3:00 P. M., Slocum's line swept forward against the Confederates posted behind the stone wall, Bartlett's brigade somewhat overlapping the gray flank. The Southerners were driven from their position, and were pursued, in heavy fighting, up the steep slope of the mountain and over the crest. Meanwhile, Smith was thrown forward in a flanking movement on the south side of Crampton's Gap against the enemy's right flank. Everywhere the Union forces were victorious. Decisive were the flanking movements of the brigades of Brooks and especially of Irwin, although the heaviest fighting took place on the right of the road where Slocum's sledgehammer blows had been skillfully delivered against the foe. In the words of Longstreet, "the Confederates made a bold effort to hold, but the attack was too well organized and too cleverly pushed to leave the matter long in doubt."[109] By approximately 6:00 P. M., the pass at Crampton's had been won by the National forces, although sporadic firing was to continue until darkness approached.[110]

The measure of the Southern defeat at Crampton's Gap was contained in the official report of Confederate General Semmes, who wrote: "Arriving at the [western] base of and soon after commencing the ascent of the mountain at Crampton's Gap, I encountered fugitives from the battlefield and endeavored to turn them back. Proceeding farther up the mountain, the [grayclad] troops were met pouring down the road and through the wood in great disorder. . . . I immediately joined my efforts . . . in the vain effort to rally the men."[111] Besides capturing the vital pass, there were other fruits of Franklin's victory, as described in his official report: "Four hundred prisoners from seventeen different organizations, 700 stand of arms, 1 piece of artillery, and 3 stand of

[108] See *Official Records Atlas*, Plate XXVII, Map 3; *B. & L.*, II, 593.

[109] Longstreet, *Manassas to Appomattox*, 229.

[110] For accounts of the fighting at Crampton's Gap, see the official reports of Franklin, Slocum, and Cobb, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 374-76, 380-81, 870-71; William B. Franklin, "Notes on Crampton's Gap and Antietam," *B. & L.*, II, 592-96.

[111] Semmes's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 595. See also *B. & L.*, II, 595.

colors were captured, while numberless articles of equipment . . . were abandoned by the enemy in their retreat." [112]

Although having brilliantly penetrated Crampton's Gap, Franklin soon showed signs of hesitation when he saw McLaws' forces drawn up to protect the latter's position on Maryland Heights. He halted, instead of testing the strength of McLaws' relatively thin lines.[113] There was something else, however, which had a bearing on this unfortunate delay on Franklin's part. On the 14th, McClellan had received this telegram from General-in-Chief Halleck: "Scouts report a large [Confederate] force still on the Virginia side of the Potomac. If so, I fear that you are exposing your left and rear." [114] Emory Upton is of the opinion that this wire from Halleck "checked the energy and boldness which ought to have characterized [McClellan's] movements" after having carried the South Mountain passes, especially after Franklin's splendid victory at Crampton's Gap.[115] But Franklin himself is far more to blame for the procrastination on the Union left.

The night of September 14-15 "was exceedingly cold on the mountain top" in the vicinity of Turner's and Fox's Gaps.[116] The Federal troops spent the night there, resting on their arms. The aftermath of the battle may well be seen in the view given by a sergeant in the Fourteenth Connecticut regiment: "I awoke about five o'clock on the battlefield of yesterday, and went out to see what war was without romance. I cannot describe my feelings, but I hope to God never to see the like again." [117] If the Connecticut sergeant could not give voice to what he beheld on the ground so fiercely contested on the 14th, others could. "The dead," wrote a Union soldier, "lay thickly scattered, in some instances piled one upon another." [118] The corpses in gray, especi-

[112] Franklin's report, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 375.

[113] Franklin to McClellan, September 15, 1862, McClellan's *Report*, 194. McLaws' double line of battle ran west and east, with his right resting near South Mountain and his left resting on Elk Ridge, the range of mountains which formed the western border of Pleasant Valley.

[114] McClellan's *Report*, 187.

[115] Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States* (Washington, 1912), 378.

[116] Gates, *Ulster Guard*, 300. See also Parker, *51st Pennsylvania*, 228.

[117] Charles D. Page, *History of the Fourteenth Regiment, Connecticut Vol. Infantry* (Meriden, Conn., 1906), 27-28.

[118] Smith, *Seventy-Sixth New York*, 159.

ally, were seen " all over the field." [119] A soldier of the Fifty-First Pennsylvania regiment stated that as his unit " was going along a by-road, it passed a heap of rebel dead, forty-seven bodies, piled up in a space of thirty by ten feet. . . . On going up to the top of the mountain another pile of ninety-seven lay piled up across each other, and the ground in the vicinity was strewn with the dead of the Seventeenth Michigan." [120] A more graphic description of the field of battle on the following day was given by the chaplain of the Sixtieth New York: " About 400 rebel dead lay there unburied. But for their hair they would have been taken for negroes, so badly were they discolored, and their features swollen out of all natural shape." [121] Since, earlier in the war, Stonewall Jackson had apparently not allowed the Federals time for burial on one or more occasions, the Union forces were determined to retaliate now. " Daylight of the 15th," wrote the historian of another New York regiment, " brought a flag of truce from the enemy, with a request for an armistice to allow them to bury their dead; but it was too clearly an excuse for delaying the march of the Union troops, and about eight o'clock an advance was ordered." [122]

The first large-scale battle of the Civil War fought in Maryland was over; there was to be an even greater one three days later at the Antietam. But first, the tally of casualties at South Mountain had to be counted up. The Federal losses at Turner's and Fox's Gaps were as follows: 325 killed, 1,403 wounded, 85 missing—a total loss of 1,813.[123] The Confederates, at Turner's and Fox's, suffered *at least* the following casualties: 325 killed, 1,560 wounded; 800 missing—a total loss of 2,685.[124] At Crampton's Gap the Union loss was 113 killed, 418 wounded, 2 missing, a

[119] Joseph R. C. Ward, *History of the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers* . . . (Philadelphia, 1883), 87.

[120] Parker, *51st Pennsylvania*, 224.

[121] Richard Eddy, *History of the Sixtieth Regiment New York State Volunteers* . . . (Philadelphia, 1864), 173.

[122] George A. Hussey, *History of the Ninth Regiment, N.Y.S.M.* . . . (New York, 1889), 190.

[123] *O.R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 187; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 90-91.

[124] Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 90-91. There are, however, strong reasons for believing that 1,500 Confederates were captured (i.e., missing) instead of 800. If so, this would bring their total loss to nearly, 3,400 (see Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 203-204; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 39-40; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 90-91).

total loss of 533 men; and the Confederates there suffered casualties of 62 killed, 208 wounded, 479 missing, a total loss of 749.[125] This would make, at the three gaps, the total loss of the day in the Battle of South Mountain, for the Federals, 2,346 killed, wounded, and missing; for the Confederates, at least 3,434 killed, wounded, and missing.[126] And it must be remembered that in each of these combats the Union forces of McClellan did the attacking against somewhat outnumbered Southerners who enjoyed the distinct advantage of excellent defensive positions of great strength on elevated ground.

That McClellan and the Army of the Potomac had emerged victorious by midnight of September 14 was acknowledged by Lee himself, who stated to McLaws, "The day has gone against us. This army will go to Sharpsburg and cross the [Potomac] river" into Virginia.[127] Other Confederate officers admitted likewise.[128] Bruce Catton states that "the fight had been a Union victory beyond question."[129] John C. Ropes, never impressed with McClellan's ability, asserts nonetheless that Lee "had been badly beaten."[130] "This victory," writes James Ford Rhodes of South Mountain, "restored the morale of the Union Army, and gave heart to the President and the people of the North."[131] Lee's stanchest biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, sums up the action on September 14 in the following words: "The day had been bad. . . . All the high hopes of manoeuvre had to be abandoned. All the air castles that had been built around Harrisburg

[125] *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 183, 861; McClellan's *Report*, 193; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 32; Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 204.

[126] However, if the figure of 3,400 Confederate casualties at Turner's and Fox's Gaps is used, the total Southern loss for the day would be 4,149.

[127] Lee to McLaws, September 14, 1862—8:00 P. M., *O. R.*, LII, Pt. II, 618-19; Stine, *Army of the Potomac*, 179. But later, when news reached Lee that Jackson had captured Harper's Ferry, Lee decided to concentrate his army at Sharpsburg and risk a defensive engagement north of the Potomac. The Battle of Antietam resulted.

[128] See, e. g., reports of Hooker and Stuart, *O. R.*, XIX, Pt. I, 215, 819; Hill, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 570, 580; John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1903), 81-82; Smith, *Seventy-Sixth New York*, 162; Thomason, *Jeb Stuart*, 276-77; Vautier, *Eighty-Eighth Pennsylvania*, 71; Palfrey, *The Antietam*, 37; Hill, *Our Boys*, 398; Swinton, *Army of the Potomac*, 204; John Richards Boyle, *Soldiers True, The Story of the One Hundred and Eleventh Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers . . .* (New York, 1903), 55.

[129] Bruce Catton, *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (Garden City, 1951), 250.

[130] Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, II, 349.

[131] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States . . .* (New York, 1899), IV, 146.

and the Susquehanna bridge had to be vacated." [132] In reply to McClellan's telegram reporting his victory at South Mountain, the anxious Lincoln wired back, "God bless you, and all with you. Destroy the rebel army if possible." [133]

Throughout his earlier months in command of the Union army, especially in the Peninsula campaign, McClellan had been reckoned, correctly, by friend and foe alike, as a circumspect general—one who could be expected at all times to play the game according to the cautious rules. But in the combat of September 14, 1862, in Western Maryland, "Little Mac" had confounded his opponents. "At Boonsboro," wrote Lee's private secretary, Colonel A. L. Long, "McClellan had displayed more than usual pertinacity in his attacks upon the Confederate position." [134] When learning of the Union commander's rapid penetration of the South Mountain barrier, the brilliant Stonewall Jackson had this to say of his former West Point classmate: "I thought I knew McClellan, but this movement of his puzzles me." [135]

When the blue chips were in the center of the table and the Union cause was at stake, George B. McClellan had risen to the necessity of the hour. The Confederate invasion of the North had come to an end; Antietam was to prove something of an anticlimax. The initiative had passed from Lee's hands to McClellan's. This was the crucial significance of the comparatively little-known Battle of South Mountain, fought in the magnificent upland country of the Old Line State.

[132] Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, II, 372-73.
[133] Lincoln to McClellan, September 15, 1862, *C. C. W.*, I, 489.
[134] Long, *Memoirs of Lee*, 216.
[135] Walker, *op. cit., B. & L.*, II, 611.

THE CHESAPEAKE POTTERY COMPANY

By Nancy R. FitzPatrick *

DURING the period 1880-1890, majolica was a fad in American pottery. The two leading firms manufacturing majolica in the United States were Griffen, Smith & Hill of Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, and the Chesapeake Pottery of Baltimore. Other American firms making majolica were the Arsenal Pottery of the Mayer Pottery Manufacturing Company of Trenton, New Jersey, A. M. Beck of Evansville, Indiana, The Faïence Manufacturing Company of Greenpoint, Long Island, George Morley & Son of East Liverpool, Ohio (or as some state Wellesville, Ohio), Morrison and Carr of New York City, Odell & Booth Brothers of Tarrytown, New York, and the Hampshire Pottery of Messrs. J. S. Taft & Co., of Keene, New Hampshire.

The Chesapeake Pottery, located at the corner of Nicholson and Decatur Streets, Locust Point (part of the site now occupied by the American Sugar Refining Company), commenced operations in 1880 with one building and one kiln under the management of Henry and Isaac Brougham and John Tunstall.[1] In March, 1882, David Francis Haynes, a former plant manager, and later a part owner of a crockery jobbing house in Baltimore, took over the Chesapeake Pottery. For the next twenty five years he controlled the business and increased considerably its scope of operations. In later years, he was assisted by his son, Frank R. Haynes.[2]

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[1] Pictures of the Chesapeake Pottery building, the decorating room, and the carrying of saggars or ware into the kiln for burning appear in *Maryland Geological Survey*, Vol. IV (Baltimore, 1902).

[2] *A History of the City of Baltimore, Its Men and Institutions* (Baltimore, 1902); George E. Gliss, *The Economic Life of the Chesapeake Pottery, 1881-1914* (n. p., n. d); and obituary of D. F. Haynes in Baltimore *American*, Aug. 25, 1908, p. 14, and Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 25, 1908, p. 12.

David Francis Haynes, (1835-1908), born in Brookfield, Mass., was a descendent of Walter Haynes, who came to Boston in 1638 in the ship *Confidence.* His early life was spent on a New England farm. He attended public schools until he was sixteen years of age and then secured employment in a crockery store in Lowell, Mass. His advancement was rapid, and before he reached the age of twenty-one, his employer sent him to England on an important mission. This trip furnished him with a fine opportunity to observe the art treasures of England and the Continent, thus gratifying his artistic bent. Later in life he made several trips abroad.[3] Foreign travel undoubtedly extended Hayne's natural talents, with the result, as Jervis points out, " Mr. Haynes has undoubtedly exercised a very considerable influence on American ceramics, insisting on originality in shapes and designs." [4]

Upon his return to the United States in the autumn of 1856, Haynes moved within a short time to Baltimore, where he secured employment as a bookkeeper with H. Abbott & Son, manufacturers of plate iron at the Canton Rolling Mills. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he was placed in charge of the firm's largest mill in which armor plate for the ironclads was produced. In 1869 he became manager of a large iron property in Virginia where he was engaged in the mining and smelting of iron ores. When offered an interest in a crockery jobbing house, Ammidon and Company, he returned to Baltimore in 1871. In 1879 he founded the D. F. Haynes & Co., 347 West Baltimore Street, and in 1882 he purchased the Chesapeake Pottery.[5] At that time Haynes was well aware that American pottery was generally produced for its utilitarian character with very little thought given to artistic design and shape. Haynes seized the opportunity to display his artistic talents in the originality and individuality of his wares. Many of his products were designed by him because trained artists and modelers were scarce.

A testimony of his artistic skill appeared in the *Hartford Daily Courant*, in an article on Baltimore potteries, May 19, 1885. It reads in part:

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[3] Edwin A. Barber, *The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States* (New York, 1909), pp. 320-321; *Maryland Geological Survey* (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 485-486.

[4] W. P. Jervis, *The Encyclopedia of Ceramics* (New York, 1902), p. 281; the Baltimore *Sun*, " Artists and Artisans," Dec. 5, 1882.

[5] *The Potter's Craft in Maryland* (The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1955), pp. 12-13.

It is one of the curious facts concerning American industries that although this country is the best market in the world for the finest productions of European potteries, the pottery industry has never made any decided progress here until within a very short time. Nor can it be said that this industry is established here even now . . .

The great want in this country has been a potter who, for the love of the art, would investigate the characters and capabilities of American clays. The example of Wedgwood should have been followed long ago here. He experimented in clays and stones, discovered one and another new paste, and thus revolutionized ceramic art in Europe by the simple discovery of what English materials would produce. That American clays are of the highest ceramic value has now been amply proved by the remarkable work of Mr. D. F. Haynes, a potter in Baltimore. For some years past he has been making practical experiments with home materials, and has been richly rewarded for his expense and intelligent preseverance. A variety of pastes, made from American clays, which he has discovered, present features of value above any European pastes. These features vary. Some are specially strong, some unite strength with lightness, some take color through the whole body with the uniformity and purity of Wedgwood Jasper wares, some are so compact and fine that they polish on the turning lathe. Uniformity of shrinkage in pastes of different composition enables Mr. Haynes to combine different colors, laying reliefs of one on surfaces of another tint. A full account of the very important discoveries thus made and shown in a great variety of wares now in the market would fill a book. The wonderful beauty of many of the pastes, without addition of any coloring material, is a surprising feature of the Baltimore wares. There is a deep red, which is, to say the least, fully equal to the old Chinese red stone ware, or to the richest Bottcher. The browns, grays, pearl and fawn colored wares are all pure, uniform and therefore strikingly beautiful, in an extensive range of shades. The glazes and enamels which are used are as excellent as the pastes, and of course vary to meet all fancies. Relief ornamentations are used with skill and judgment. It is evident that Mr. Haynes employs artists as able as those of Wedgwood. This is not an exaggeration. . . .

The space we have given to this Baltimore pottery is not too much for its importance. It is eminently an American pottery, and here is the first distinct promise of the great future of the industry in our country. It is saying little to say that Mr. Haynes has done more in three years for the practical advance of the industry in this country than had been for fifty years before he began. No more beautiful wares, in their respective classes, are produced in Europe than are now made, at a much lower cost, in Baltimore. He is teaching the public that cheapness is not inconsistent with beauty of form and attractiveness in color.

D. F. Haynes was fortunate to have a talented daughter, Fannie, a former student at the Maryland Institute and later at the Metro-

politan Museum school in New York, who designed a number of pieces. One, a large Moorish vase, designed by her in competition at the exhibition of American pottery held in Pennsylvania Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1889, attracted much attention and took one of the prizes. Later on, the trustees of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art purchased it for their permanent collection.[6]

Haynes was also assisted by Fred E. Mayer, a talented student of Professor L. W. Miller of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art and the School of Industrial Art, in the modeling of the "Calvert" vase which was shown at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[7]

David Haynes initiated the idea of training artists and modelers but in spite of his zeal and efforts, he was not successful in persuading the United States Potters Association to establish such a training school. The Johns Hopkins University was approached with a plan offering a course in ceramics, but this idea, too, met with no success. His son, Frank, was unable to find any institution at that time offering a course in the art of pottery manufacture.

In 1882 Haynes produced a ware similar to majolica, with the "Clifton" mark printed on the bottom, which is regarded as superior in glaze to majolica of that time. Barber claimed it "was pronounced by judges equal to the famous Wedgwood of that grade."[8] "Clifton" was followed by the "Avalon"—a ware with a body of ivory tint and soft rich glaze. It had sprays of flowers in relief decorated in colors.[9] The "Avalon" was followed by the "Calvertine," similar to the "Avalon" in its composition, but somewhat different in its decorative treatment. In 1885 parian ware was introduced, embellished with flowers and other patterns. The same year, "Severn," a fine, thoroughly vitreous body of a subtle grayish-olive tint appeared. In toilet ware various styles known as "Alsatian," "Aurelian," "Breton," "Castilian," and "Montessan" were produced. In 1886 a fine semi-porcelain dinner service, the "Arundel' was introduced. It is a

[6] Barber, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-330.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 323.
[9] Marks of these products may be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412; John Ramsay, *American Potters and Pottery* (New York, 1947), p. 263; and C. Jordan Thorn, *Handbook of Old Pottery and Porcelain Marks* (New York, 1947), p. 122.

tribute to Haynes that many of his products were copied by American, English, and German potters. One of these instances is the "Montessan" toilet set, first shown to the public in the column of the *Crockery Journal* of January, 1892. It was copied in Staffordshire, and the illustration shown in the May issue of the London *Pottery Gazette.* Haynes inserted in the July 14, 1892, issue of the *Crockery and Glass Journal* the following advertisement:

Baltimore, May 16th, 1892

Messrs. Grimwade Bros.

We find in May number of London *Pottery Gazette* an illustration of a Toilet Set which seems a downright copy of the Montessan shape, designed by our Mr. Haynes, and patented in the United States.

We do not know that you intend sending your copy of our set to the States, but we advise you that we shall look carefully after our rights, and proceed promptly against any party in whose hands we may find it.

It is said that "imitation is the sincerest flattery," and your action is doubtless a compliment to our design; but an excellent books says "Thou shalt not steal," and it is well to heed that commandment.

Yours truly,
Haynes, Bennett & Co.

Their reply is also reproduced in this advertisement:

Stoke-on-Trent, May 26th, 1892

Messrs. Haynes, Bennett & Co.

We are in receipt of your favor of 16th, and beg to repudiate your suggestions that we have committed either moral or legal infringement in copying your Toilet Set.

We note your threat of legal proceedings if we sell the shape in the United States, but we beg to say that this is quite unlikely, as we have made it for the English market and there is not much fear of it going to the American market at all.

We consider it one of the prettiest designs that has ever appeared.

If you can make use of this fact, pray do so.

Wishing you every success.

Yours truly,
Grimwade Bros.

In another example, Haynes secured from the United States District Court at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an injunction against

a Western potter who had copied and manufactured the "Torquay" toilet set, patented by Haynes.[10]

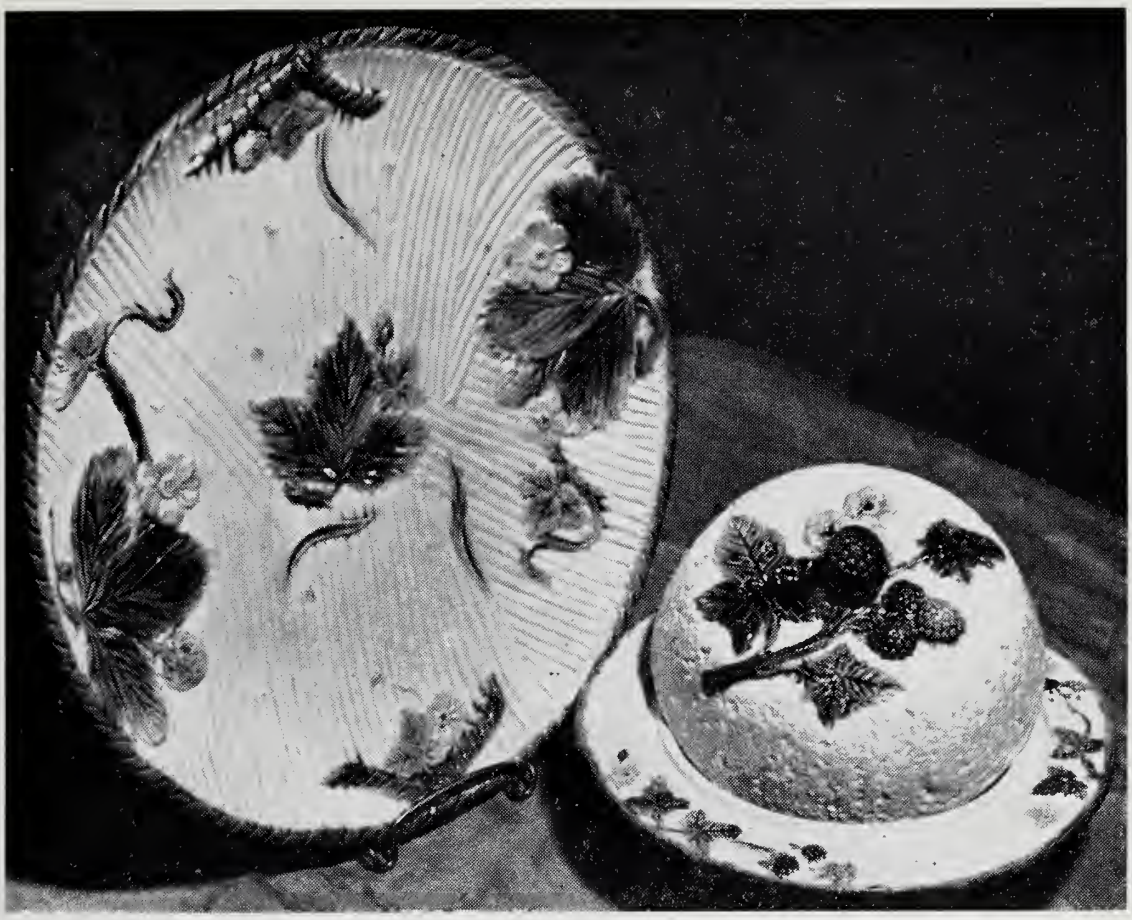
Chesapeake Pottery was affiliated with the American Institute of Mining Engineers, and was a member of the United States Pottery Association. When the American Ceramic Society was formed in 1899, Chesapeake Pottery became a member. Its products were awarded medals and diplomas at exhibitions, such as the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, and the Pennsylvania School of Fine Art. Large department stores, such as Wanamaker of New York and Philadelphia, Marshall Field of Chicago, and Macy of New York, gave the products a wide distribution. Dr. William C. Prime, author of *Pottery and Porcelain of all Times and Nations*, considered the products of the Chesapeake Pottery to be "equal to any European work of their class, in pottery, glaze, and decoration."

After enthusiastic expansion, the Chesapeake Pottery experienced some financial difficulties, and in 1887 it was put up for sale. Edwin Bennett, a pioneer potter, owner of the Edwin Bennett Pottery Company of Baltimore at Canton and Central Avenues, purchased the Chesapeake Pottery, but a few years later he sold his interest to his son, E. Huston Bennett, and David F. Haynes.[11] The name of the company became Messrs. Haynes, Bennett & Co. Bennett served as a partner until January, 1895, when he retired. His interest was purchased by Frank R. Haynes, the son of David F. Haynes and the firm's name was changed in 1896 to D. F. Haynes & Son. When David F. Haynes died on August 24, 1908, his son Frank assumed complete control.

Around 1890 David F. Haynes designed a porcelain clock case, and many large orders for it were placed by large clock manufacturers in the United States, and it became the firm's best selling product. However, around 1910 the public demand shifted to metal and wooden clock cases, and as a result the firm's sales greatly fell off. Although cracker jars, cuspidors, ferneries, floor vases, jardiniers, and floor lamps, were also manufactured in large quantities, the firm began to encounter competition from Western

[10] *A History of the City of Baltimore, Its Men and Institutions*, p. 211

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 207; Clayton C. Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, Vol. III (New York, 1912), p. 858.



MAJOLICA MADE BY THE CHESAPEAKE POTTERY COMPANY

From the Collection of Nancy R. FitzPatrick

pottery companies because the latter were employing natural gas which burnt much more evenly than bituminous coal and produced a finer texture. Finally, pottery plants began to specialize on staple items which cost less to produce through the standardization of industrial processes. This important technological change, plus the sudden decline of orders for porcelain clock cases, proved to be a severe blow to the firm. When the American Sugar Refining Company offered to purchase the property, the company accepted and the pottery business was discontinued in 1914.

SIDELIGHTS

NAVAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

MARSHALL SMELSER

The story of the compromise of 1790 by which the site of the District of Columbia was chosen has been well and often told. ("You southerners vote for our bill to have the federal government pay the state debts and we'll vote to put the capital in the south.") But the fact that naval considerations figured in the First Congress debates on the subject is not so well known.

Before the present location was selected, the merits of Trenton, Germantown, Baltimore, and of some undesignated spot on the banks of the Susquehanna River were debated. Proposals to settle at Germantown, Baltimore, and on the Susquehanna were actually approved by one or the other chamber before the final choice of the Potomac valley was made.[1]

In the course of congressional argument, which occupied parts of the first two sessions of the First Congress (September, 1789, and July, 1790) the question of naval defensibility came up several times. One of the first to speak on it was Representative Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, perhaps the ablest of the Federalists who served in the House. He thought the capital must be on or near the coast because, "Being more liable to invasion, Government should be near to protect it." But he rejected the Potomac valley suggestion—"The Potomac is, in some degree, exposed to two dangers; by sea, and from the mountains. Large vessels can go to Georgetown. The events of the late war have proved that there is foundation for this apprehension." He favored putting the capital somewhere on the Susquehanna, "safe from the dangers of invasion by sea." [2]

Representative Thomas Hartley of Pennsylvania also supported a Susquehanna site. Since access by water was urged as a necessity he said "as to its convenience to the navigation of the Atlantic ocean, the distance is nothing more than to afford safety from any hostile attempt," [3] and John Lawrence of New York rose to say that he agreed.[4]

[1] Irving Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution* (Indianapolis, 1950), 276-281, 312-316; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1932-1936), IV, 74-79.

[2] 1 Cong., 1 Sess., *Annals of the Congress, 1789-1824*, ed. J. Gales and W. W. Seaton (Washington, 1834-1856), I, 868, 872, 873. Hereafter cited: *Annals*. The First Congress is covered in two volumes, hence the roman numerals.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 837. [4] *Ibid.*, I, 846.

As the days passed, the Susquehanna location lost support and its movers went over to the defensive. Unable to convince their colleagues that their river was navigable they began to argue that a waterway was not essential.[5] When Marylanders suggested that some spot on the lower reaches of the Susquehanna, within the boundaries of the Old Line State, would be a better choice, Hartley scorned the notion—" a place exposed to the depredation of hostile nations." [6]

In the Senate the admirers of Germantown were strong enough to pass a bill, ten to nine (Vice President Adams cast a tie-breaking vote), designating that suburb of Philadelphia as the capital.[7] They could not recommend Philadelphia itself, partly because it contained a third of the wealth and population of Pennsylvania and they could not afford to give it away.[8] The Germantown choice was defended in the House, unsuccessfully, by Connecticut's Roger Sherman who, in listing its advantages, pointed to " good buildings, and convenience for arsenals and ship yards." [9] At this point William Smith of South Carolina charged Sherman with inconsistency. He had been a Susquehanna man before and had praised the river site because it was inaccessible to sea-going vessels. Sherman admitted he " had said the Susquehanna was safe from vessels of war " but it was not his idea of a good reason for choosing. He had addressed the argument to members who thought access from the sea was undesirable. He, Sherman, feared no invasion, indeed he expected no war for years to come.[10]

No decision was reached during the first session of the First Congress, but the matter came up again in the second session. A motion for Baltimore passed in the House by three votes. Some weeks later, Richard Bland Lee, a Virginian and a Potomac supporter, worked to undo that decision by arguing that Baltimore was just as far south as any likely Potomac site—hence not thereby more desirable to northerners—" besides being exposed by its frontier position on the sea." [11] He was followed by James Madison who said all the advantages of Baltimore were equally to be had on the Potomac, and the Potomac had some advantages unknown to Baltimore. " In respect to security from invasion, I aver the Potomac has the advantage also." [12]

An anonymous poet in the *Gazette of the United States* had tired of the naval debate months before Madison's unprophetic speech. He recorded his ennui in

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 897.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 898.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 924.
[8] William Maclay, *Journal*, ed. E. S. Maclay (New York, 1890), 274.
[9] 1 Cong., 1 Sess., *Annals*, I, 924.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, 924-925.
[11] 1 Cong., 2 Sess., *ibid.*, II, 1662.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, 1665.

THE RURAL RETREAT

O, WHAT a charming thing and pretty,
To have a noble Federal City!
Surpassing in few years to come,
All that history says of Rome;
That ancient seat of arts and wars,
The mother of eternal jars!
Not near old oceans' margin built,
Where blood by hogsheads may be spilt;
Where ships which vomit smoke and fire,
May force the people to retire;
May set a scampering our patricians,
Cursing all maritime positions.
Besides, all sea port towns, we know,
The floods of horrid vice o'erflow [13]
. . .

It is a curious irony that Madison was later Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States when the British were repulsed at Baltimore but succeeded in occupying Washington-on-the-Potomac. Of course the naval argument was not decisive in the selection of the site of the District of Columbia, but one can not help wondering whether anyone ever reminded President Madison—after the defense of Fort McHenry and the battle of Bladensburg—of his earlier strategic theorizing.

ADDITIONAL NICHOLITE RECORDS

Kenneth L. Carroll

An interesting development in the late colonial period of Maryland history was the appearance of the religious society known as the Nicholites. This group, centered in Caroline County and Upper Dorchester, has already been the subject of two articles by the writer in this magazine. Additional articles written by him on Joseph Nichols, the founder of the movement, and the North Carolina branch of these "New Quakers" have appeared in other historical journals.[1]

The Nicholites, or "New Quakers" as they were frequently called, had only a brief existence as an organized religious body—from 1774,

[13] *Gazette of the United States*, Sept. 12, 1789. It goes on for about fifty more lines, getting steadily worse.

[1] See Kenneth L. Carroll, "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLV (1950), 47-61; "More About the Nicholites," *ibid.,* XLVI (1951), 278-289; "The Nicholites of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (1954), 453-462; and "Joseph Nichols, of Delaware: An Eighteenth Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History,* VII (1956), 37-48.

just after the death of Joseph Nichols, until the end of the eighteenth century when practically all of them received membership in the Society of Friends. Although this was never a large movement and did not last long as a separate society, still it had a significance and history which should not be forgotten. These Nicholites were people who believed so strongly in the guidance of the inner light and the way of life made known to them by Joseph Nichols that their lives, and even the appearance of the neighborhood in which they lived, were transformed. Persecution, suffering, and ridicule did not turn them from seeking what they understood to be the *summum bonum* of life. Many people who found it impossible to accept the Nicholite way for themselves admired and respected these men and women for their sincerity, integrity, and charity.

The love which the Nicholites possessed for each other is seen in the way that they continued to worship together after 1798 when some became Friends and others remained Nicholites. Eventually the remaining Nicholites deeded their meeting houses to their former brethren who had become Quakers—truly a remarkable show of affection which is seldom seen where religious groups have divided.

Today there are few signs of this unusual Maryland religious group to be found. Two old volumes of records locked in a vault in Easton [2] and some rather vague memories tucked away deep in the minds of a few people are almost all that one comes across. Most of the inhabitants of those areas where the Nicholites once waxed strong (even the descendants of those who were members of this religious society whose origins go back nearly two hundred years) are surprised to hear that such a group flourished in the central part of the Eastern Shore and even gave birth to two smaller Nicholite communities in North and South Carolina. It is, in part, for this reason that I have gathered here these two additional sets of records to go with the birth and marriage data published earlier in this magazine in 1950 and 1951. The witnesses to the Nicholite marriages [3] show a broader constituency for the society than the birth and marriage records would suggest. Also included here are the names of known Eastern Shore Nicholites who received membership in the Society of Friends through either Third Haven or Northwest Fork Monthly Meetings.

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[2] These two volumes, containing the birth and marriage records of the Nicholites, are with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends in the vault of the Register of Wills Office in the Talbot County Court House.

[3] The Nicholite wedding ceremony was patterned after that of the neighboring Quakers. No priest or minister was present—for the Nicholites were forbidden by their principles to acknowledge a "man-made ministry." At the close of one of their religious meetings the couple to be married stood and exchanged their vows "in the presence of God and these our friends." Then all those present were invited to sign the wedding certificate as witnesses to the ceremony.

WITNESSES TO NICHOLITE MARRIAGES

The numbers in parentheses, after each of the following names, refer to the number of each marriage in the order in which it is listed in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVI, 288-289.

Adams, Elijah (50)
Addams, Thomas (5)
Alcock, John (7)
Anderson, Ann (22, 23)
Anderson, Celia (57)
Anderson, Ezekiel (44)
Anderson, James (2, 6, 7, 18, 20, 44, 55, 56, 57)
Anderson, James II (29)
Anderson, Major (44)
Andrew, Celia (51)
Andrew, Elisha (41)
Andrew, Richard (18)
Anthony, Ann (56)
Anthony, Joseph (56)

Bartlett, Daniel (47, 54)
Bartlett, James (47)
Bartlett, Solomon (12, 38)
Barton, Edward (24, 25, 26, 31, 34, 48, 51, 55)
Barton, Eliza (33)
Barton, James (33)
Barton, John (3, 4, 10, 15, 16, 21)
Barton, William (16, 21, 26, 33)
Bachelor, Esther (36)
Bachelor, Nathan (36)
Bachelor, Nealy (Nelly?) (36)
Batchelder, John (2, 11)
Batchelder, William (8)
Beachamp, Andrew (51)
Beachamp, Curtis (46, 48, 51)
Beachamp, Sophia (51)
Beck, Edward (10)
Berry, Adah (25)
Berry, Delilah (21)
Berry, Littleton (15, 21)
Berry, Naomi (25, 31)
Berry, William (4, 8, 10, 25, 31)
Bishop, Robert (4, 34)
Boon, James (35, 40, 45)
Boon, Mary (37, 40, 45)
Branghon, Sophia (5)
Breeding, John (21)
Bright, Solomon (38)
Buchinham, Levi (22, 23)

Cain, Thomas (6)
Caldwell, James Jr. (12)
Callaway, Joseph (6)
Cannon, Tubman (45)
Carroll, John (27)
Causey, Robert (53)
Chance, Aaron (47)
Chance, Bachelor (40)
Chance, Eliza (40)
Chance, Esther (57)
Chance, Rich (47)
Chance, Tilghman (40, 47, 59)
Charles, Elijah (12, 38, 42, 43, 49, 50, 56, 57)
Charles, Euphama (32, 39, 49)
Charles, Henry (32, 36, 39, 42, 43, 46, 50, 57, 58)
Charles, Isaac (1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 46, 50, 53, 60)
Charles, Jacob (32, 38, 42, 49, 50, 57)
Charles, Jacob Jr (42, 50, 57)
Charles, Levin (12)
Charles, Mary (1, 50, 57)
Charles, Nancy (7)
Charles, Sarah (10, 42, 43, 49)
Charles, Solomon (14)
Charles, Willis (24, 26, 27, 33, 42, 49, 50, 56)
Charles, William (13, 14)
Chilcutt, Celia (35, 37, 40)
Chilcutt, Esther (45)
Chilcutt, Joshua (10, 35, 37, 40, 45, 47)
Chilcutt, Pheobe (45)
Chilcutt, Rhoda (35, 37, 40, 45, 47)
Chipman, Benjamin (6)
Chipman, Peris (7)
Clark, James (7, 14)
Clampit, Henry (6)
Claypool, James (2)
Collins, Nicey (53)
Collins, Sarah (55)
Connalley, Jeremiah (12)
Cook, Thomas (2, 3)
Cooper, Risdon (41)
Covey, Mary (15)
Covey, Noble (4, 15, 16, 24)
Covey, Rhoda (8, 13)
Craner, Joshua (4, 8, 60)
Cranor, Solomon (28)
Cromeen (Cremeen), Elijah (1, 19, 35, 59)
Davis, Aquila (18)
Davis, Solomon (6)
Dawson, Anne (29, 30)
Dawson, Daniel (34)
Dawson, Edward (29)
Dawson, Elijah (29, 30)
Dawson, Elisabeth (16)

Dawson, Elisha (30, 39, 56)
Dawson, Isabel (16)
Dawson, John (29, 30, 39, 48, 55)
Dawson, Jonas (29)
Dawson, Lydia (30)
Dawson, Margaret (29, 30)
Dawson, Phebey (30)
Dawson, William (3, 16, 19, 29)
Dawson, William Jr. (16)
Deane, Joshua (52)
Dobson, William (41)

Eccles (Acles), Richard (20, 24)
Eccles, Sarah (15)
Edmondson, John Jr. (5)
Edmondson, Mary (5)
Emmerson, Samuel (56, 59)
Emmerson, Samuel Jr. (56)
Evitts, Seth Hill (24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 34, 44, 51, 54, 55, 56)

Fidamun, Hawkins (60)
Flower, John (5)
Foster, Joseph (4, 8, 15)
Foster, Rebecca (22, 23)
Foster, Thomas (4, 15)
Foxwell, Richard (57)
Framptom, Anna (51)
Framptom, Hubert (Hubird) (28, 33, 36, 43, 45, 46)
Framptom, John (22, 23)
Framptom, Levi (32, 34, 36, 38, 42, 46, 49, 58)
Framptom, Richard (19, 22, 23)
Framptom, Sarah (22, 23)
Framptom, Thomas (38)
Framptom, William (38)

Godwin, Henry (39, 53)
Goforth, Tackⁿ (?) (6)
Goslin, Ezekiel (12)
Goslin(g), Peggey (Marget) (2, 13)
Goslin, Waitman (44)
Gray, Thomas (17)
Grey, Levin (41)
Grey, Matthew (41)

Hall, James (59)
Harper, Beachamp (7, 12)
Harris, Ann (17, 27, 31)
Harris, Celia (29, 32, 42, 44)
Harris, Esther (16, 25)
Harris, James (2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 44, 52)
Harris, James Jr. (21, 26, 29, 33)
Harris, Lydia (25, 44)
Harris, Mary (10, 13)
Harris, Peter (30, 39, 53)
Harris, Rachel (25, 27)
Harris, Rhoda (30, 34)
Harris, Sarah (16, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29)
Harris, William (3, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20)
Harvey, Mary (25)
Harvey, Samuel (51)
Hilford, David (1, 6, 7)
Hilford, Sarah (6)
Holdbrook, Alexander (3, 4, 9, 17, 21)
Holland (Hollon), Laban (7, 12, 14, 52)
Horney, James (8, 9, 15, 16, 52)
Horney, John (9)
Horney, Philip (4)
Horney, Wililam (2, 52)
Hubbert, Edward (44)
Hubbert, Margaret (25)
Hubbert, Peter (53)

Jenkins, James (55)
Jenkins, Henry (53, 55)
Jenkins, Hessey (55)
Jenkins, Mary (19)
Jenkins, Richard (18, 22, 23, 26)
Jenkins, Sarah (19)
Jenkins, Thomas (9, 19, 24, 44)
Johnson, Cornelius (21, 52)
Johnson, Lemon (37, 45)
Jones, John (12)

Kelley, Denis (19, 48)
Kelley, Eliza (25)
Kelley, Hix (54)
Kelley, William (19, 22, 23, 24, 29)
Kenton, Solomon (47, 54)
Kimmey, James (52)

Leverton, Daniel (32, 33, 39, 42, 46, 49)
Leverton, Isaac (42, 43, 49)
Leverton, Moses (1, 5, 11, 12, 25, 30, 36, 46, 53, 57, 58)
Leverton, Rachel (30, 36, 53)
Linagaer (Linager), Isaac (2, 52, 53)
Love, Ann (40)

Mackimmy (Mackimy), Elijah (9, 13)
Man, Joseph (30)
Martino, John (2)
Marine, Mary (11)
Marine, Sarah (20)
Marine (Marain), Zorobabel (2, 59)
Mason, Abraham (1, 9)
McKimmey, Esther (48)
McKimmey, John (48)
Melvin, Edmond (6)
Melvin, John (1, 6)
Melvin, Mary (14)
Miner, Edward (14, 52)
Morgan, William (16)

Morriston, Cathren (60)
Morriston, John (3, 4, 9, 13, 15, 17, 21, 48, 60)
Murphey (Murpha), Ann (46)
Murphey, Deborah (43)
Murphey (Murpha), James (22, 23, 43, 46)
Murphey, William Banning (43, 55)

Nauler (Naula), Joseph (26, 29, 33)
Nicolls, Joseph (5)
Nicols, Isaac (4)
Noble, Joshua (56)
Noble, Mark (58)
Noble, Rhoda (18)
Noble, Tansey (18)

Payne, David (5)
Pegg, Martin (5, 7, 20)
Pegg, Valintine (1, 3)
Perry, Mary (51)
Peters, William (24)
Poits, William (51, 55)
Pool, John (11, 12, 22, 23, 46, 53, 57, 58)
Pool, Isaac (56)
Pool, Levin (46, 49, 53, 57, 58)
Pool, Sarah (56)
Prichett, John (48, 59)
Prichett, Sarah (59)
Prichett, Wingate (55)
Pruets, Southy (59)

Richardson, John Jr. (15, 24)
Richardson, Mary (19)
Robinson, Samuel (6)
Roe, Mary (45)
Ross, Archibald (55)
Ross, John (2)
Rumbly, Elisabeth (10)
Russel, Elijah (8, 60)
Russel, Easter (60)

Shanahan, Deborah (45)
Sharp, Isaac (34)
Smith, Joshua (3, 9, 20, 24, 44)
Smith, Levin (40)
Smith, Mary (40)
Smith, Matthew (40)
Stack, Rachel (48)
Stack, Thomas (22, 23)
Stafford, James (21)
Stafford, Jarvis (12)
Standley, Joseph (5, 6)
Stanford, Richard (5)
Stanton, Beacham(p) (31, 34, 45, 48)
Stanton, Deborah (48, 51)
Stanton, Esther (35)
Stanton, John (16)
Stanton, Sarah (25, 31, 35)
Stanton, Thomas (1, 35, 46, 52)
Stuard, Charles (14)
Stevens, James (48)
Stevens, Robinson (48)
Stevens, William (18, 30)
Sulevane, Owen (10, 15)
Sulivane, David (2, 5, 8, 13, 14)
Sulivane, John (5, 41, 48, 60)
Sulivane, Sarah (13)
Sullavin, Florence (1, 5)
Sullivane, Levin (48)
Sullivane, Mary (32, 41)
Swigett, Johnson (19, 22, 23, 24)
Swigett, Mary (20)
Swigett, William (21)
Swiggate, Rhoda (45)
Swiggins, Lydia (54)

Tod(d), Benjamin (51)
Tull, Esther (5, 7)
Tull, Richard (2, 52)
Tumblin, Covil (1)
Twiford, Archibald L. (58)
Twiford, Solomon (43, 58, 59)
Twiford, Zorobabe Smith (58)
Twyford, Elizabeth (46, 58, 59)
Twyford, Jonathan (46, 57, 58, 59)

Vickars, Celia (46)
Vickars, John (38, 45)
Vickars, Joseph (45)
Vickars, Richard (36, 38, 39, 46, 49)

Walker, John (18, 21, 31, 34)
Ward, Daniel (34, 37, 50)
Ward, Henry (34, 35, 37, 47)
Ward, James (54)
Ward, Mary (37)
Warren, William (1, 2)
Watkins, Thomas (1, 10, 11, 36)
Webb, James (1)
White, Joshua (2)
Williams, Delila (59)
Williams, Eleanor (53)
Williams, William (31, 59)
Willis, Andrew (9, 14, 15, 19, 25)
Willis, Ann (47)
Willis, Jessee (47)
Willis, Mary (14)
Willis, Milley (47)
Willis, Sina(i) (22, 23, 47)
Willis, Thomas (2, 4, 8, 10, 13, 17, 18, 19)
Willis, William (38, 42)
Wilson, Ann (54)
Wilson, Catharine (54)
Wilson, Elizabeth (54)
Wilson, Hannah (37, 50)
Wilson, James (37, 40, 45, 47)
Wilson, John (50, 54)

Wilson, Mary (50)
Wilson, Rachel (40)
Wilson, Rebecca (40, 54)
Wilson, Sarah (54)
Wilson, Solomon (37, 40, 47, 54)
Wilson (Willson), William (35, 37, 47, 54)
Worrilaw (?), John (2)
Wright, Ann (13, 39)
Wright, Anna (30, 39)
Wright, Celia (26, 28)
Wright, Daniel (28, 29, 31, 32, 36, 39, 41, 42, 49, 53, 58)
Wright, Edward (11)
Wright, Elisha (26)
Wright, Esther (27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 49)
Wright, Euphama (43)
Wright, Hatfield (26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 38, 39, 41, 43, 46, 49, 50, 58)
Wright, Jacob (28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 46, 53)
Wright, James (12, 20, 27, 30, 33, 38, 41, 53)
Wright, John (2, 5, 11, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 48, 55, 56)
Wright, Lemuel (1, 2, 3, 12, 17, 20, 26, 28, 30, 39)
Wright, Levin (1, 3, 5, 11, 13, 17, 20, 27, 32, 33, 39, 41, 42)
Wright, Levin Jr. (11, 20)
Wright, Levina (20)
Wright, Lovey (11)
Wright, Mary (27, 32, 42, 43)
Wright, Peter (34, 53)
Wright, Rhoda (49)
Wright, Roger (10, 11, 20, 26, 27, 28, 32, 42, 52)
Wright, Sarah (17, 26, 27, 28, 30, 53)
Wright, William (5, 7)

NICHOLITES ADMITTED INTO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

A. By Third Haven Monthly Meeting

[1/11/1798] James Harris, Mary Harris, Peter Harris, Mary Stevens, Johnson Swigget, Mary Swigget, John Wright, Hester Wright, Willis Charles, Sarah Charles, Elisha Dawson, Lydia Dawson, Elizabeth Wright, Mary Wright, Jacob Wright, Rhoda Wright, Daniel Wright, Sarah Wright, Richard Foxwell, James Wright, Sarah Wright, Hatfield Wright, Lucretia Wright, Mary Richardson, Margaret Connely, John Pool, Ann Pool, Levin Pool, Elizabeth Pool, Moses Leverton, Rachel Leverton, James Murphey, Mary Murphey, William Murphey, Ruth Murphey, Elizabeth Frampton, Elizabeth Twiford, William Melona, Sophia Melona, George Hardy Fisher, Daniel Fisher, Thomas Gray, Sarah Gray, William Poits, Adah Poits, Anthony Wheatley, Sophia Wheatley, William Gray, Elizabeth Gray, Jesse Hubbert, Sarah Pool, Sarah Poits, Ann Gray, Lovey Gray, John Barton, William Peters, William Wilson, James Wilson, Rebecca Wilson, James Wilson Jr., Sarah Wilson, Solomon Kenton, James Boon, Sarah Boon

[2/15/1798] James Anderson, Celia Anderson, John Berry, Ann Emmerson, Dennis Kelly, Hannah Kelly, Mary Ann Barton, Esther Chance, Elizabeth Kenton, Jonathan Shannahan, Margaret Shannahan

[3/15/1798] Ann Love, John Wilson, Ann Wilson

[5/17/1798] John Dawson, Ann Dawson, Elijah Russel, Esther Russel, Sarah Swiggett, Richard Vickers, Celia Vickers, Catharine Harvey, Henry Charles, Mary Charles, Elijah Bartlett, Esther Bartlett, Celia Bartlett, Sarah Vickers, Jesse Leverton, Clement Melona, William Melona Jr., Comfort Melona, Elizabeth Melona, Joshua Crainer, Perry Gray, Joseph Gray, Esther Gray, William Wheatley, Bing Wheatley, Elizabeth Wheatley, Euphamy Wheatley, William Wilson Jr., Rachel Wilson

[7/12/1798] Solomon Kenton, Jr.

[8/16/1798] Archabald Ross, Elizabeth Ross, Joseph Anthony, Ann Anthony, Esther Chilcutt, Mary Perry

[11/15/1798] Jacob Wilson, Nathan Wilson, John Pool, Daniel Pool, William Pool

[1/17/1799] Jacob Leverton, Daniel Wheatley, Arthur Wheatley, Anthony Wheatley, Isaac Wheatley
[2/14/1799] Eli Anderson, Joseph Man, Elizabeth Gray, William Gray, Lydia Gray, Sarah Gray
[4/11/1799] Jacob Charles, Lydia Barton, Andrew Barton, Levin Barton, Anna Barton, Elizabeth Barton, Nathan Harris, William Harris, James Barton, Peter Barton, Rhoda Barton, William Barton, James Barton, Elizabeth Barton, Celia Wright, Ann Wright, Harris Wright, Samuel Wright, Lidia Wright, Nathan Wright, Levisa Wright, Millah Wright, Elisha Wright, Aaron Wright, Sarah Wright, Ann Melony, James Melony, Tilghman Melony, Priscilla Melony, Mary Melony, Johua Vickers, William Vickers, John Vickers, Sarah Leverton, John Leverton, Samuel Leverton, Charles Leverton, Elizabeth Leverton, Rececca Leverton, Mary Leverton
[5/16/1799] Tilghman Wright, Roger Wright, Celia Wright, Isaac Frampton, John Melona, Eleanor Melona, Rachel Fisher, Sarah Fisher, George Fisher, Alexander Fisher, John Swiggett, Henry Swiggett, Sarah Swiggett, Esther Swiggett, Solomon Swiggett, Adar Swiggett, James Wright, William Wright, Peter Wright, Willis Wright, Rhoda Wright, Mary Wright, Daniel Dawson, Deborah Dawson, William Dawson, Mary Kelley, William Kelley, Anna Kelley, Hicks Kelley, William Ross, Noah Ross, Mary Anderson, Lydia Anderson, Wright Anderson, Jesse Hubbard, John Hubbard, Wright Charles, Esther Charles, Lydia Dawson, Sarah Barton, Ann Barton
[6/13/1799] William Poits, Isaac Poits
[7/11/1799] Deborah Shannahan, Elizabeth Shannahan
[8/15/1799] Isaac Pool, Rhoda Pool, Sarah Poits, Mary Ross, Elizabeth Man, William Berry, Naomi Berry, John Pritchett, Sarah Pritchett
[11/14/1799] James Ward
[4/17/1800] Mary Berry, Elizabeth Wilson, Rebeccah Wilson, Mary Wilson, Lucretia Ward

B. By Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting

[8/13/1800] William Williams, Delilah Williams, Celia Williams, John Vickars, Pheba Vickars, Southy Pruitt, Thomas Tilor
[9/10/1800] James Wright, Ann Wright
[11/12/1800] Edward Hubbert
[12/10/1800] John Vickars
[1/14/1801] Daniel Wright
[3/11/1801] William James Wright, Elizabeth Gray
[4/14/1801] Hubert Framptom
[6/10/1801] Joshua Williams, William Williams, Mary Williams, Sarah Williams, Adah Williams
[7/15/1801] Ann Foxwell, Daniel Foxwell, Adams Foxwell, George Foxwell
[11/11/1801] Seth Hill Evitts
[6/15/1803] Margaret Emmerson
[1/16/1805] Elijah Cromean
[6/12/1805] Beachump Stanton
[9/11/1805] Sarah Stanton, Peter Stanton, Mary Stanton, Anna Stanton, James Stanton, Elizabeth Stanton, Thomas Stanton
[10/16/1805] Amilla Chance
[3/12/1806] Elender Kelley
[8/13/1806] Perry Kelley, Jonah Kelley, Mary Kelley, Elender Kelley
[2/10/1819] Jonathan Twiford, Elizabeth Twiford *

* Elizabeth Twiford first applied for membership in 1797 and was received on 1/11/1798. Shortly thereafter she asked to be released from membership in the Society of Friends. It was not until 1819 that this widely travelled Quaker minister of later years asked once again to become a Friend—this time accompanied by her husband, Jonathan

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

James Wilson: Founding Father 1742-1798. By Charles Page Smith. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956. xii, 426 pp. $7.50.

Since most of us Americans are vague about this particular Founding Father, we may have assumed that his biography has gone unwritten because he was a vague kind of person. Mr. Smith's book proves now, beyond a doubt or cavil, that the reason for his past neglect must be sought elsewhere.

"James Wilson was a Scottish man," Mr. Smith tells us, first of all. "The Scottishness was in his speech, with its soft burr; in the rather dour earnestness of his florid face; in the tall, strong frame; in the bent of his politics and his piety. Perhaps most of all in his fierce restlessness and boundless energy. Politics and metaphysics are a volatile brew. Scots—at once stonily practical and wildly visionary—have a taste for this potion. For whatever it meant, James Wilson was a Scot."

He was an ambitious Scot, not the kind who would have been contented to stay out his life on a small farm, as his father had done. Fortunately his father and mother—she especially as strong in religion as she was weak in reading and affairs—had vowed him to the Kirk. And though he never entered the ministry—we must hope that his mother never knew about his leaving the Presbyterian Church itself when another one seemed to offer more valuable contacts—events proved they had chosen the right little Wilson to educate. The other six would never have soaked up so voraciously what the school and universities had to offer. Unfortunately, they did not offer a course in public relations.

James Wilson's grim, unswerving desire to make his way in the world overmastered his parents' opposition. He sailed for America. The year was 1765, the year of the Stamp Act. Within a few months he had become a Latin tutor at the College of Philadelphia; but this was only a step up. After study in the office of John Dickinson, no less, he was admitted to the bar. Vistas opened. The law meant not only money, but the chance to travel and buy up speculative land. Already he had the itch that would be his ruin. There was also the chance of entering politics. Wilson loved politics for its own sake, apparently, as he loved money and learning and gambling in land. His excellent mind soon focussed on the troubles between Great Britain and her American colonies—or, as he thought the relationship more properly expressed, "the different members of the British empire . . . distinct states, independent of each other, but connected together under the same Sovereign." It was no wonder that when he wrote

his *Considerations* along those lines—the pamphlet his biographer finds " perhaps the most far-sighted, coherent, and logical that came from the pen of any colonial disputant "—he was advised not to publish it for a few years.

Unfortunately, by the time the Declaration of Independence was in the air, Wilson's views had become more moderate than his *Considerations*—appearing in 1774—had been. While the Founding Fathers' descendants will forgive a patriot who has made a slow start but ends in a great burst of speed for American independence, they do not like regressions. Nor did James Wilson's contemporaries. And it is significant of his personality that, although other eminent Whigs joined him in delaying the vote on independence, he was the one singled out for public castigation as " an enemy of popular liberties and independence. The hue and cry against him became so intense that a *Defence of Wilson* was finally prepared . . . and . . . signed by all the delegates. . . ." To no avail. Nor was his signing of the Declaration. He was still heartily hated when he opposed the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776. His days in Congress were numbered; he knew he would be ousted in the next election; but he did not change.

The temper of his fellow-citizens was such that, out of office, Wilson decided to spend the winter of 1777-8 in Annapolis. It will be disappointing to Maryland readers that Mr. Smith passes over this period in his subject's life without special comment.

In any case his winter away did not assist him in his relations with his fellow-citizens at home. They received him back with undiminished rancor.

Mr. Smith is at his best describing the violent episodes in which James Wilson's personal unpopularity, his defence of certain Tories charged with treason, and the schemes by which he had made considerable money during wartime finally climaxed on October 4, 1779. A mob had congregated to " drive off from the city all disaffected persons and those who supported them." James Wilson could figure that one out; even before the cry " Get Wilson " arose, he had appealed for official aid, received instead reinforcements from friends like Robert Morris, and barricaded himself in his house.

Several people were killed that day, and more wounded. James Wilson's wound was merely personal and political, but he had many of those already, old but unhealed. Complete recovery was too much to expect. On the face of it, he continued a brilliant career. He was elected to Congress again—the moderates being back in the saddle—and both his law business and his other interests flourished awhile. He was, for instance, counsel for his state in the important Marbois-Longchamps affair. He became truly eminent " In his role of champion of the Bank of North America, [where] Wilson established himself as the country's leading apologist for a system of national finances based on a national bank." He was president of such high-sounding companies as the Illinois and Wabash. He was, of course, a towering figure in the Constitutional Convention—" The Convention was the central fact of Wilson's life," Mr. Smith says—where he

fought manfully for direct popular election of House, Senate, and Chief Executive. The College of Pennsylvania, where he had taught Latin his first year in America, appointed him to its chair of law and his lectures were lastingly distinguished and brilliant. And he ended his life on the Supreme Court. But—that word, with that dash after it, could have been carved appropriately on James Wilson's tombstone, below the list of his achievements.

Never backward about promoting himself, Wilson had "ached to be chief justice," Mr. Smith says. He never realized, apparently, how lucky he was to be a justice at all. True that he was a brilliant lawyer, one of the ablest judges ever to wear the gown. But his longtime disease, speculation, had been progressive. He was now unable to see clearly the line between justice and self-interest. Then too the spectacle of a justice of the Supreme Court fleeing from justice, hiding out in another state again, this time to avoid paying his debts, was not edifying.

But as we make allowance for the speculations themselves—heeding Mr. Smith's eloquent plea that they deserve to be "considered against the background of his age"—we must make allowance for James Wilson too. Toward the end of his life, like his brilliant son Bird Wilson after him, he was not in mental health. Dr. Benjamin Rush, the eminent physician who was in some ways the father of American psychiatry, noticed an ominous sign—Wilson had begun to read novels—and considered it "the final measure of his friend's deterioration." Actually, deterioration had much farther to go. "As it would not be his will," his biographer says, "it had to be his mind and body that broke."

The criticisms of this excellently researched and interpreted and written book will be few. There are some mistakes of carelessness. Mr. Smith knows perfectly well, for instance, that Henry Lee, who was only nineteen years old in 1775, was not a candidate for the chief command of the Continental army; but Henry, not Charles, is what he says on page 65. When he says the Philadelphia Shippens supported the Crown he is merely forgetting to except such family members as Dr. William Shippen, Jr., director-general of the military hospitals and physician-in-chief of the Continental army. There are various legal generalizations with which various readers may not agree. There are some sins of omission in the index. Sometimes Mr. Smith seems overgenerous, as in attributing to Alexander Hamilton "a dashing military career"; sometimes overharsh, as in saying Benedict Arnold was "living high off the graft he extracted from Philadelphians in the role of military governor"; and often, as is the occupational disease of biographers, overimpressed with James Wilson. But none of this, obviously, is serious. The publishers' pricing his book higher than comparably bound biographies of similar size and no illustrations except a frontispiece may prove so. But the book itself is fine. This reader was truly impressed.

ELLEN HART SMITH

The South Lives in History: Southern Historians and Their Legacy. By WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. xiii, 163 pp. $3.

Wendell Holmes Stephenson is a native of the Middle West and a Professor of History at the University of Oregon. Despite these antecedents, he has been for many years a dedicated student of the history of the South, having published several works dealing with the antebellum period. The present work is an account of the historical writing by Southerners from the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on the lives and works of William E. Dodd, Ulrich B. Phillips and Walter L. Fleming.

In an introductory essay, which he calls "The Southern Avenue to Now," Professor Stephenson seeks to place Dodd, Phillips and Fleming in the context of the times in which they taught and wrote. The evolution of a Southern school of history is traced to The Johns Hopkins University in the eighties and nineties of the last century. There the desires of Southern students to probe the history of their region received sympathetic encouragement from Herbert Baxter Adams, a man whom Woodrow Wilson describes as "a great Captain in Industry, a captain in the field of systematic and organized scholarship." From the Hopkins of this period poured a steady stream of young Southerners armed with the Ph. D., who returned to the region of their birth to propagate the study and writing of Southern history. Around the turn of the century, after the death of Adams, Hopkins ceased to be the mecca for young scholars from below the Potomac. The torch passed instead to Columbia University where William A. Dunning had acquired a reputation for directing dissertations in Southern history, particularly in the areas of the Civil War and Reconstruction. It was at Columbia that both Phillips and Fleming received their graduate training. Dodd, on the other hand, received his Ph. D. from the University of Leipzig.

Professor Stephenson characterizes William E. Dodd, as an historian of democracy, Ulrich B. Phillips as an historian of aristocracy, and Walter L. Fleming as an historian of conservatism. While these characterizations are useful, they should not be allowed to conceal the similarities of background and approach to historical writing which are evident in the lives and thought of these men. Each was a product of the rural South of the seventies and eighties. Each derived from yeoman or middle-class rather than aristocratic stock. All three received undergraduate degrees from Southern colleges, but went North or abroad for graduate instruction. Most important, in the minds of all three the greatest service they could render in the field of history would be to revise the older interpretations of James Ford Rhodes, Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, John Bach McMaster and others, which, they felt, were notoriously unfair to the South. As Ulrich Phillips put it, "The history of the United States has been written by

Boston, and largely written wrong. It must be written anew before it reaches its final form of truth. And for that work . . . the South must do its part in preparation."

Of the three, William E. Dodd best succeeded in freeing himself from his native Southern prejudices; Ulrich B. Phillips was the most accomplished literary craftsman; Walter L. Fleming was the most diligent researcher and wrote the best documented history. Today, Phillips is chiefly remembered for his *Life and Labour in the Old South*, the classic description of plantation life and slavery. Fleming's *Sequel of Appomattox* is still one of the standard works on Reconstruction, as is his *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.* Dodd's works have not survived too well, though his book *The Cotton Kingdom* has some claim to remembrance.

Though almost all the works of these three historians are marred by special pleading on behalf of the South, they provided at the time materials and arguments for a more balanced treatment of such controversial subjects as slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. If their apologetic nature gives us little reason to believe in the possibilities of "scientific history," they at least provide us with arguments for the consideration of historiography as a dialectical process. The older syntheses of American history contained in the works of Rhodes, Oberholtzer, and McMaster contained the germs of their own revision. This revision was accomplished by the theses of Dodd, Phillips and Fleming, theses which led naturally to antitheses as contained in the works of re-revisionists such as W. E. B. DuBois. It would, indeed, require considerable temerity to predict the nature of the next synthesis.

Professor Stephenson knows his subjects intimately. His work is the product of painstaking research and mature scholarship. Unlike so many works of which this can be said, a high degree of literary skill is also evident. It is to be hoped that this little volume may be the forerunner of a larger study which will comprehensively treat the history of historical writing in the South.

ROBERT P. SHARKEY

The Johns Hopkins University

As They Saw Forrest: Some Recollections and Comments of Contemporaries. Edited by ROBERT SELPH HENRY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press Inc., 1956. xvii, 306 pp. $5.

Reminiscences of Big I. By WILLIAM NATHANIEL WOOD. Edited by BELL IRVIN WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press Inc., 1956. xxviii, 138 pp. $3.95.

If, as the late Dr. Freeman once suggested, the most successful Confederate history is that which tries the least to be persuasive, then these two volumes will be numbered among the best Confederate books of 1956. Easily paced, with appropriate illustrations and maps, these two

products of an enterprising press under the editorship of Seale Johnson and Bell Wiley give promise of more good books to come.

The Forrest volume seems to have grown out of Robert Selph Henry's *"First With The Most" Forrest*, the best biography of the great Confederate cavalry general to date. By making available to the public selections of some of the rarer Forrest sources, Mr. Henry has done a courteous act, and while this book does not pretend to tell the whole story of Forrest's genius, it does throw additional light on his most famous battles, the Sooy Smith raid, Brice's Crossroads, and the Memphis raid. Particularly enjoyable is the cross-section of comment, for we see Forrest from the point of view of troopers of "the crittur company," officers in his command, worthy opponents, civilian observers, and even Field Marshal, Viscount Wolseley.

Lieutenant Wood's *Reminiscences* is a short little volume of no particular significance other than the fact that it was prepared thirty years after Appomattox by a man who had fought in the ranks, risen early to a lieutenancy, and remained in that role for the rest of the war, despite the hazards usually associated with combat infantry company officer careers. Only seventy-nine pages long, followed by several appendices and fragments of the original manuscript, the narrative tells of the author's experiences in Company A, Nineteenth Virginia, A. N. V., from his first day of soldiering, a day before First Manassas, through Gettysburg where he led his company to the stone wall on Cemetery Hill, to the final surrender at Sayler's Creek, April 6, 1865, and prison camp on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie.

Many amusing scenes are recorded, including a session with Maryland cherry bounce and an attempt at cooking a camp cat. The account of Gettysburg will interest the reader, but this reviewer cannot help feeling indifferent on completion of the book. While interesting reading for those who had read just about everything else on the Army of Northern Virginia, *Reminiscences of Big I* does not compare with *As They Saw Forrest*, nor will its contribution to the Confederate bookshelf be as great.

C. A. Porter Hopkins

Glyndon, Md.

A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore (1787-1802). By Vincent J. Fecher, Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1955. Sold in the U. S. by Divine Word Missionary Publications, Techny, Ill. xxxi, 283 pp. $4.

As the title of this dissertation suggests, the author describes the attempts that were made prior to the end of the eighteenth century to create separate Catholic parishes for German-speaking immigrants in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The early developments of Holy Trinity Church in Philadelphia

have been often told in the past, but the author was able to add much important information gleaned from European sources which had never been tapped before. Less was known about the Baltimore parallel, St. John's Church, which was located on Park Avenue and Saratoga Street. Early in 1797, a young German Franciscan Conventual, Father Frederick Caesar Reuter, had appeared in Baltimore. Bishop Carroll took him in and appointed him to care for the German Catholics attending the pro-cathedral. Father Reuter in compliance with the desire of the Germans tried to organize a separate congregation for them so as to prevent immigrants ignorant of the English language from joining any of the three German Protestant churches in the city. The Bishop strongly opposed his plans. Reuter left for Europe to enlist the aid of the Holy See for his German church, a German catechism and even for his high-flung plans for the creation of a German diocese in America. Eventually, after having received reports from Carroll, Rome denied Reuter's request. Carroll did his best to prevent the Baltimore Germans from forming their own congregation. Reuter and his Germans, however, went ahead and built their church, henceforth acting independently from the Bishop. Reuter even published a German catechism (Baltimore, 1797, printed by Samuel Sauer. The only extant copy, in the library of Woodstock College, was evidently not consulted by the Reverend Mr. Fecher). The feud went on for a number of years until 1805 when the Separatists returned to the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll. A year later Reuter was succeeded by Father F. X. Brosius who took over the pastorate of St. John's Church which in 1842 formed the nucleus of St. Alphonsus, a center of fervent German activity for many decades. Father Reuter's labors thus cannot be denied a certain success.

While Father Fecher describes in great detail (pp. 58-87) the feud during which the Baltimore Germans " appear to have crossed the line that separated them from rebellion against the authority of the Holy See " and provides excellent documentation which adds some important knowledge to the ecclesiastical history of Baltimore, he obviously lacks an indispensible familiarity with the conditions among the Baltimore Germans, particularly the Roman Catholics among their number. It is surprising to note that the author has never consulted the pertinent article by Charles R. Gellner, " Ecclesiastical History of the Catholic Germans in Maryland," in the *Twenty-sixth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, nor a comprehensive work like *The Maryland Germans* by Dieter Cunz, who mentions the fact that the German Roman Catholics of Baltimore held their first services with a German sermon delivered by Father John Baptist Clouse as early as February, 1792.

Father Fecher's study nevertheless has its own merit. It makes many European sources available to the student of American church history. When he reaches the conclusion that the insistence on the sole use of English instead of German and other immigrant languages contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church in America, he overlooks the fact that the Church lost a great many souls to the national Protestant churches

in those days where the German immigrant found a ready welcome in his own tongue and among his own kind. The creation of many German parishes all over the country in later years proves that Catholic authorities themselves realized this fact. Eventually all these German parishes have become truly American congregations like St. Alphonsus in Baltimore which owes its inception to a stubborn Franciscan by the name of Reuter.

KLAUS G. WUST

Arlington, Va.

NOTES AND QUERIES

House and Garden Pilgrimage—The 1957 tour of Maryland houses and gardens commences on Wednesday, May 1, with the Green Spring Valley, and concludes with the visit to Queen Anne's County on Sunday, May 12. Tour books giving full information may be obtained from Pilgrimage Headquarters, 217 Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Md. Information and tickets are also available at the American Automobile Association Headquarters, 1712 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Archives and Genealogy Courses—Summer institutes are offered by the American University, in cooperation with the National Archives and Records Service, the Library of Congress, and the Maryland Hall of Records in *Preservation and Administration of Archives*, June 17-July 2, *Records Management,* June 3-14, and *Genealogical Research.* The latter is sponsored by the American Society of Genealogists. For further information about these specialized summer study groups, write to Dr. Ernst Posner, Office of the Dean, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, American University, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Old Dover Days—The Friends of Old Dover are sponsoring tours of Dover, Delaware, Saturday, May 4 and Sunday, May 5. Descriptive folders may be obtained by writing to Friends of Old Dover, P. O. Box 44, Dover, Del.

Howard–Wells—In the account of Grey Rock and the Howard family, published in this *Magazine* for June, 1955 ("The Re-creation of Grey Rock, Baltimore County"), it was stated on page 89 that Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Joshua Howard and his wife Joanna O'Carroll, was the wife of William Wells. This statement also occurs in George A. Hanson's *Old Kent.* The fact is that Elizabeth Howard married *Thomas* Wells, as recorded in St. Paul's Episcopal Church Register. The date was September 16, 1736. Mackenzie, in his *Colonial Families of the United States of America,* Vol. I, has correctly recorded the marriage of Elizabeth to Thomas Wells, though other genealogists, notably members of the Howard family itself, have said she married William Wells. Furthermore, additional confirmation of her marriage to Thomas is found in a deed of

1771 by which Cornelius, her brother, gave "Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Wells, Lot No. 522 in Baltimore Town." As a descendant of Thomas Wells and Elizabeth Howard, I have traced the burial place of Elizabeth (Howard) Wells to the property called "Rogue's Ridge" on Garrison Road near St. Thomas' Church, now part of the property of the Maryland State Training School.

LAURA DEMPSTER GRONEMEYER (Mrs. Henry H.)
1409 Delaware Avenue, Wilmington, Del.

Berry—In the list of miniatures in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* (December, 1956), page 341, the following errors appeared in connection with the miniature of Mrs. Washington Berry: Mrs. Berry was born in 1802, not 1808, and married in 1822 instead of 1882; her mother, Elizabeth Thomas, died on January 1, 1803, and not in 1802. We thank Mrs. Anne Middleton Holmes, donor of the miniature, for these corrections.

Barnum's Hotel—Does anyone know what became of the hotel register of Barnum's Hotel for the fall and winter of 1864-1865? I am interested in tracing the movements of John Wilkes Booth in and out of Baltimore at that time and in particular whether he checked in on the evening of January 28, 1865, and how long he stayed.

JOSEPH E. MISSEMER,
3644 3rd Ave., San Diego 3, Cal.

Wilson—At the present time I am engaged in writing a biography of General Ambrose Powell Hill of the Confederate Army and in gathering material for this work I have discovered that he was at one time engaged to a Miss Emma Wilson of Baltimore about the year 1850. Miss Wilson was a schoolmate of General Hill's sister at Patapsco Female Seminary, Ellicott City, Maryland. This meagre information is all that I have been able to discover.

Rev. CAMERON L. MEACHAM,
First Christian Church, 7th & Jefferson,
Paducah, Ky.

CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN, a frequent contributor to this *Magazine*, is preparing a definitive biography of Elizabeth (Betsy) Patterson-Bonaparte. Because of the interest and mystery attaching to the life of Godefroy, she sought out all available information about him while she was exploring European and American sources for material about Betsy. ☆ EDWIN M. BARRY is Chief of Inland Fish Management, State of Maryland Game and Inland Fish Commission. He was active in the preservation of the old Wye Mills, of which he has given us a brief history. ☆ WARREN W. HASSLER, JR., is the author of *General George B. McClellan, Shield of the Union*, just published by the Louisiana State University Press (Baton Rouge 3, La.) and also distributed by the Civil War Book Club. Hassler's article on the Battle of South Mountain is based upon a chapter in his biography of McClellan. ☆ A collector of Clifton ware and Rookwood pottery, NANCY R. FITZPATRICK was curious about the firm which made some of her fine pieces. The article on the Chesapeake Pottery Company is the result of her investigations. ☆ MARSHALL SMELSER is a James Forrestal Fellow at the United States Naval Academy. The article on the location of the national capital was an offshoot of his current research. ☆ KENNETH L. CARROLL has presented in the additional material from Nicholite records published here, a supplement to his previous articles on the Nicholites in this *Magazine*.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

KENT ISLAND
Winchester Creek

PHOTO BY A. AUBREY BODINE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

June · 1957

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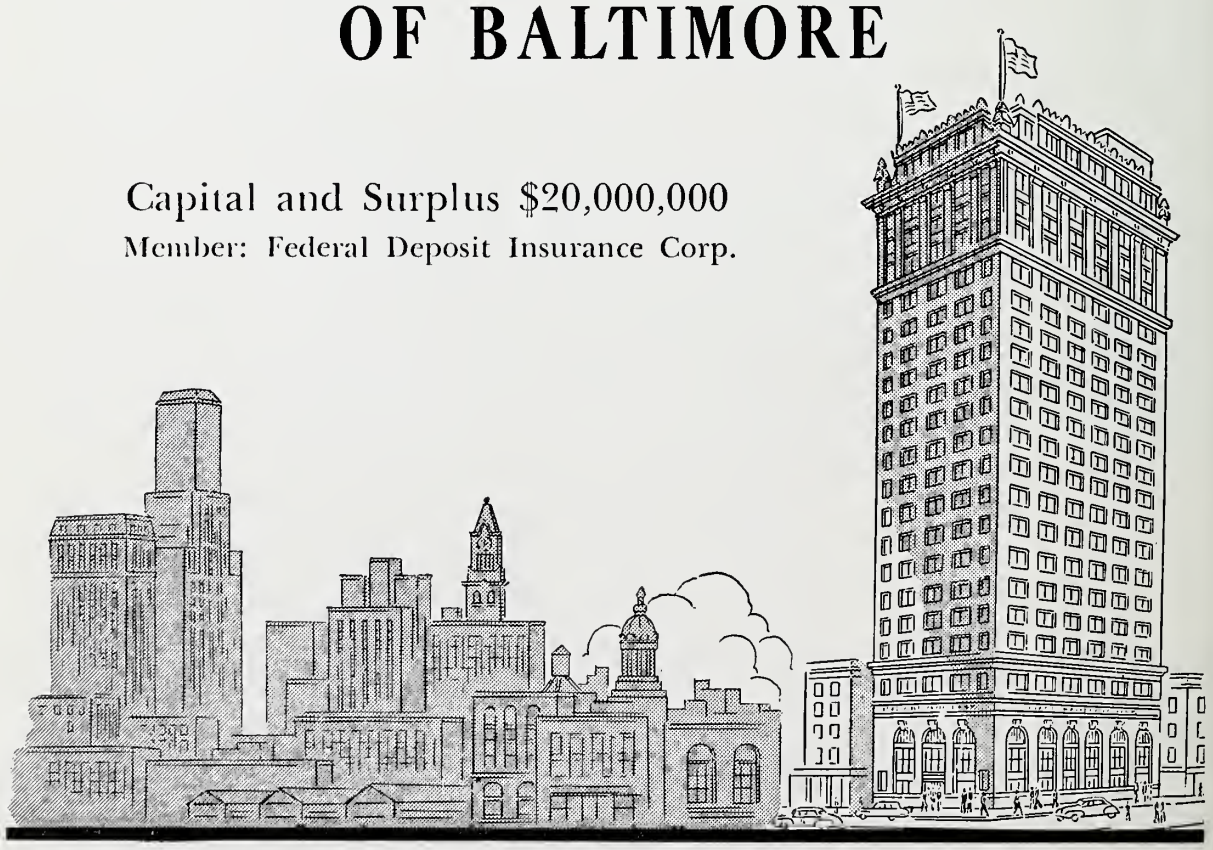

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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

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KENT ISLAND

PART I: THE PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT

By Erich Isaac *

KENT Island was settled in 1631 by William Claiborne, a Cambridge-educated native of Kent, England. It is located in the Chesapeake Bay between 38° 50′ and 39° 02′ northern latitude. Longitudinally it extends from 76° 14′ to 76° 23′ west of Greenwich. Looking at it on a contemporary map we find that Stevensville, a centrally located settlement on the island, is twenty-five miles straightline distance southeast of Baltimore, or about seven miles due east across the bay from Annapolis, and thirty-five miles northeast of Washington, D. C. The island is 14.5 miles

* This article is based upon the author's *The First Century of the Settlement of Kent Island* (Johns Hopkins University doctoral dissertation, Baltimore, 1957). The larger work includes geographical as well as historical treatment of the Island.

long when measured along a line that connects Love Point in the north with Kent Point, the island's southernmost tip. Kent Island, which is separated from the Eastern Shore only by the narrow channel of Kent Narrows, roughly resembles an eastward pointing wedge, whose cutting edge almost abuts the mainland. The island's shores contrast sharply. The northeastern side of the island, which faces the Chester River, and the Chesapeake Bay side, are on the whole unbroken by creeks, and face the sea with bold storm cliffs, although only twelve to twenty feet high; the low lying southeastern parts facing Eastern Bay are analogous to long spindling fingers reaching into Eastern Bay. There salt marsh alternates with wooded or cultivated sections of a frayed shoreline. The necks of land are often only a fraction of a mile across and very rarely are as wide as two miles between inlets. Only at its widest, in the northern third of the island, may one pass from east to west, a distance of nearly five miles, without crossing an important inlet.

The settlement of Kent Island in 1631 raises a number of geographic and historical problems—problems extending beyond the familiar scarcity of source material. The early settlement period is of course replete with tantalizing minor mysteries such as absence of any definite knowledge of where precisely the first settlement was established, or what the shape of the island was before an additional three hundred years of storms and eustatic sea-level rise altered its shores. To this day, for example, we do not know with any certainty where the first settlement was established. We do know that in the first week of October, 1631, it consisted of one large timber-framed house and several thatch-roofed huts set on crotches and raftered with a covering of brush. The whole was surrounded by palisades and four guns were strategically mounted.[1] And, the records are sufficiently detailed to allow for some very plausible deductions.

A basic problem is the reason for Kent Island's settlement. In the sixteenth century the Spaniards had established themselves in the Caribbean area and did not seriously attempt to colonize the Mid-Atlantic coast. The English soon discovered that the southern route, which had been pioneered by the Spanish, offered economic rewards to them as well. In fact the rich Spanish possessions were

[1] Beverley Fleet, ed., *Virginia Colonial Abstracts* (Richmond, 1937), XVII, 35.

the most enticing of all prospects for transoceanic voyages to the North American coast. English interest in the southeastern part of North America and in Central and South America was sustained by the presence of Spanish colonies and the trade and loot these offered. The conviction of the existence of a mysterious undiscovered great continent in the southern hemisphere, Terra Australis, and the lure of Pacific wealth and trade also diverted English attention from the North American coast proper. There were, of course, English fishermen on the Grand Banks, and the idea of a northeastern passage proved a powerful attraction, but on the whole Elizabethan seafarers showed as much ingenuity in getting around America as in getting to it.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century it dawned upon the English that America was a prize to be owned rather than an obstacle to be circumnavigated. This change in attitude introduced a period where the dual motive of settlement and trade superceded the motives of trade and piracy. The growing stress on colonization provided the setting for the Virginia venture and ultimately the settlement of Kent Island.[2] After the abortive attempt at Roanoke, English overseas colonization with the objective of settlement instead of piracy and trade was inaugurated at Jamestown.

William Claiborne came to Virginia as surveyor for the colony at Jamestown on June 13, 1621. In 1616, upon expiration of the joint stock arrangement of the colony of 1609, the need for accurate surveying was felt. A number of the company tenants were freed, and a new land policy was initiated which awarded " every man that hath already adventured his money or person, for every single share of 12 pound 10 shillings, fifty acres of land." [3] As partial payment for his services William Claiborne was given 200 acres of land. Claiborne thus became a landholder with substantial holdings on the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

Early plantations on the lower Eastern Shore signal the new attention given to the middle and upper bay as a result of steadily worsening relations with the Indians in the wake of Jamestown. The first contacts with Indians had been friendly. The English

[2] See Arthur P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688* (London, 1933).

[3] Nathaniel Claiborne Hale, *Virginia Venturer; A Historical Biography of William Claiborne 1600-1677* (Richmond, 1951), p. 53.

were in part actuated by missionary drive and a sense of destiny, for it seemed "by event of precedent attempts made by the Spaniards and French sundry times that the countries lying north of Florida God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation." [4] Similarly, missionary arguments were used to justify actual occupation of Indian land, on the grounds that failure to do so would lead to a "returne" of the new converts "to their horrible idolatrie." [5] Occupation, of course, was bound to lead to conflict.

The English were further led by economic expectations to seek out the Indian, for they hoped he might be converted not only to the cross but also to the cloth. An imaginary "Indian Economic Man" was supposed to become a consumer of English woolen goods.[6] However "all just kind and charitable courses" did not prevail in the reality of Indian-White contact. The tribes associated in the Powhatan Confederation pursued a fluid and shifting pattern of alternating warfare, overt peace, and covert intrigue. The white settlers were not anthropologists and took an unfavorable view of Indian theft, wanton sabotage, or traditional "trade" customs. The gulf separating Indian concepts of property from English laws of landownership could not be bridged. A new policy crystallized which aimed at breaking up Powhatan's confederation. Remote tribes were set against Powhatan by bribery and promise and his own tribes were placed in a direct tributary relationship to the English. This new policy failed to subdue the Indians. With continued white encroachment the situation worsened steadily until at last, in 1622, the pent-up hostility came to a head and erupted into a fearful war, the "Great Massacre." It closed with finality the chapter of attempts at White and Indian rapprochement in the Jamestown area.

The impact of the massacre explains to a large degree the direction that trading ventures and associated plantations were subsequently to take. Westward advance had been stopped by ferocious Indian resistance. The settlers on their part "proclaimed a policy of relentless warfare upon the natives and year after year implemented it by organized destruction of towns and

[4] A. L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (London and New York, 1955), p. 212.

[5] Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge, 1949), p. 78.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

crops and by other actions calculated to harass the Indians and keep them on the defensive.[7] Expeditions against the Indians were kept up with regularity; two summer expeditions and one in the fall was the rule as late as 1629.[8] Consequently the inland frontier around Jamestown was a turbulent zone and not an area of trade or advancing settlements. Instead traders pushed north and eastward into the Chesapeake Bay.

The earliest settlements on the Eastern Shore had been established years before the Massacre. In 1611, during Governor Dale's term, a settlement was established at the southern tip of the Eastern Shore peninsula.[9] Claiborne knew of these early settlements and also knew of the as yet uninhabited parts of the Eastern Shore. When he participated in Governor Yeardley's fall raids on the Eastern Shore Indians he was probably impressed by the contrast between the swamp and disease-ridden Jamestown area and the much better conditions across the bay. Various plantations that existed near King's Creek on the Eastern Shore, which had been originally laid out in 1620 by John Pory, showed promise of returns that appealed to Claiborne. Consequently he too obtained a plantation on these lands near Accomac, a name that was later to be applied to the entire Eastern Shore.[10] This was not his first venture in planting, for he owned land near present day Hampton on the Western Shore. This land originally was an Indian village site and was named Kecoughtan after the village. It is reasonable to assume that Claiborne's planting experience at Accomac and Kecoughtan was to be of value on Kent Island. It is similarly reasonable to believe that the unsettled state of the Western Shore in the aftermath of the Indian Massacre left the northern bay and its eastern shore open to the movements of this ambitious trader and planter.

The circumstances of the early post-massacre period applied of course to all traders and would-be planters. In the case of Claiborne, however, additional factors favored his way as trader. When in June, 1623, King James rescinded the charter of the London Company, Claiborne became a member of the council in Virginia and received various additional land grants. Political

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.
[8] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[10] [Virginia] *Minutes of the Council,* entry for April 4, 1627, p. 148.

activity as secretary of the colony may have afforded him important training in leadership. Other special privileges went with official positions in the colony, moreover—most important of which were profitable trading licenses that were given to council members.[11] Claiborne made full use of these licenses; in 1626 he made a trip up the bay and in the spring of 1627 he led a full fledged expedition there after receiving a commission for trade. If additional sources about English and Indian trade in the Chesapeake are discovered, they will probably tell a story of an early start by many traders and ultimate monopolization by Claiborne, who used his political influence to achieve this end.

Just how many traders were active in the bay before and during Claiborne's time is impossible to state. In the early 1620's John Pory reported that Indian traders in the bay numbered nearly one hundred.[12] We know that after the Massacre, Governor Wyatt authorized expeditions into the bay to trade for corn, which was to be secured peaceably or by force. Captain Ralph Hamor went in his ship, the *Tyger,* and arriving at the Potomac found a number of white traders pursuing their trade in peace with the Indians. The original traders were probably sailors manning the ships that brought settlers to Virginia. Significantly, many of the most successful traders during the first half of the seventeenth century had formerly been "mariners." Among the early traders in the bay was Thomas Savage who had written a memorandum to the London Company pointing out the benefits to be obtained from the fur trade. Another famous Chesapeake Bay trader was Captain Henry Fleet, who was captured in 1627 by the Anacosta Indians along the lower reaches of the Potomac where he spent four years in captivity. After his release, Fleet returned to England where he obtained the support of the fur trading firm of William Cloberry and made at least one voyage in that firm's service. In 1632 he returned to the bay in the service of another English firm, trading with the Indians for corn which he delivered in New England.[13]

While Fleet and Hamor were among the best known traders of the early period, they were soon eclipsed by Claiborne. The

[11] Public Records Office *Colonial Papers, Sainsbury Calendar* (March 4, 1926), p. 77.
[12] *Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8,* V, 158.
[13] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 96.

legislative decree that assured Claiborne's supremacy in the bay trade indirectly indicates that trading in the bay was widespread. The limitation of trading licenses to members of the Virginia Colony's Council had to be rationalized, and a twofold reason was given. First, it was claimed that uncontrolled trading cheapened the value of trade goods in the eyes of the Indians, and secondly, that it caused the colonists to depend too much on trade rather than on their own cultivation for the supply of corn.[14]

Using his license, Claiborne made a trading trip in 1626 up the bay in an exploratory spirit.[15] First he went to Accomac where he found that squatters had settled on his land. Claiborne treated them with diplomatic leniency, a policy which proved its wisdom when later these people acted as a pool from which he recruited many of the freemen who settled on Kent Island. Another voyage must have suggested to him a course which appears to us today as grand strategy to secure the bay trade.

The issues before him were partly of a political and partly of an economic nature. Claiborne occupied a preferred position as member of the colony's council, a position he used repeatedly to obtain trading licenses. Nonetheless he must have known how unpredictable the actions of the council and governor were, and if he feared their instability, the course of events justified him. In 1632 Governor Harvey arrested Captain Fleet on Claiborne's request for trading without a permit in the bay, but the Governor promptly reversed himself and sent Fleet back to the bay as his partner.[16] In view of such political uncertainties Claiborne must have seen the wisdom of occupying a base sufficiently far from Virginia to be free from interfering political intrigue, and at the same time sufficiently large to provide all the needs of his traders. If such a base could at the same time be developed as a plantation with an economic surplus which could be added to the goods obtained in Indian trade, ships would find it doubly worthwhile to sail up the bay. In that event they would not return with half empty holds, and at one stroke both the political and the transport problems would be solved.

[14] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1879), I, 1-23.

[15] "Wyatt Documents, 1621-1626," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2nd ser., VII, 42-44, 205-207, 212-214, 249, 252-254; VIII, 48.

[16] Commissions for exploration and trade which were issued to Claiborne are printed in the *Archives,* V, 158-160.

In addition to seeking a large area, relatively isolated from Virginia, Claiborne needed a location that guaranteed competitive advantage over interloping traders. With the latter consideration uppermost in his mind, he asked the Governor and Council after his 1628 voyage for a commission for trade, stressing the potentialities of Indian trade on the Susquehanna. On January 31, 1629, a commission allowing Claiborne to trade there " till the first of April next " was granted.[17] Claiborne established himself at the mouth of the Susquehanna on Palmer's island, " half meade, half wood," containing about 200 acres with a forty-foot high rock on its western waterfront. The island had previously been granted to Edward Palmer, a critic and art collector in London, and an adventurer of the London Company, who had died in 1624 before taking up his grant.[18] Possession of Palmer's Island bottled up the Susquehanna trade and assured Claiborne a virtual monopoly in the beaver trade. Palmer's Island, however, despite its strategic location at the root of the ramifying Susquehanna system, which tapped through portages many Indian beaver supply areas, was too small for self-sustaining colonization. It did not yield an economic product complementary to beaver skins. Also, there was need for financial support and an organization to undertake the marketing of beaver in England and to supply the traders with trade goods and other supplies.

The opportunity to establish such a contact came in October, 1629, when Lord Baltimore came to Jamestown. Virginians entertained suspicions that Baltimore sought a proprietary charter for Virginia. Claiborne, in his capacity as secretary of the Virginia Company, was dispatched to England in order to thwart any designs Baltimore might entertain. During his stay in England Claiborne contacted William Cloberry and Company and offered a partnership in a trading settlement that was to be established on Kent Island.[19] Cloberry & Co. had formerly been associated with Captain Fleet and the company was thus familiar with Chesapeake Bay trade. The partnership was founded on the basis that the main benefits were to be reaped from the beaver trade, but in addition Cloberry & Co. looked for " true accounts of all tradeinge

[17] [Virginia] *Minutes of the Council,* April 4, 1627, p. 185.
[18] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 125.
[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 130, 140.

truckeinge buyeinge sellinge barteringe planteinge soweinge increase of cattle . . ." [20]

The vogue of felt hats had greatly increased the demand for beaver fur in England. A migration of continental craftsmen to England in the sixteenth century was perhaps as much the cause as the result of the new fashions.[21] Furthermore the price of Spanish wool, hitherto imported for felt production, had increased markedly, due to the rise in Spanish prices occasioned by the flow of American treasure to Spain.[22] By the middle of the sixteenth century wool was increasingly displaced by fur, a fact witnessed by the preamble to Queen Elizabeth's hat apprentice act:

> Great multitudes of the Queens . . . true subjects using the art of making woolen caps, are improverished and decayed by the excessive use of hats and felts.[23]

Of all furs beaver was most suitable for the hat manufacturing industry " for the special barbed or stapled character of fur wool, especially beaver wool, makes it unusually suitable for the manufacture of felt and felt hats." [24] By the seventeenth century American fur trade had become synonymous with the trade in beaver pelts.

From the vantage point of the beaver trade, a base on Kent Island, with an outlying northern trading post on Palmer's Island, was certainly a desirable location. Kent Island was suitably distant from the disturbed conditions of Virginia, and was at the same time close enough to the Eastern Shore mainland for easy trade with Indians who had not been involved in the hostilities on the southern bay. Together, Kent Island and Palmer's Island straddled the trading route leading into the Susquehanna, and via portages, the routes as far as the Ohio and the Great Lakes. It is easy to see why Cloberry and Company jumped at the bait Claiborne held before them: The " very profitable and beneficiall trade that might bee had and made in the bay of Chesopeake in Virginia and

[20] " Claiborne vs. Clobery ets Als in the High Court of Admiralty," *MdHM,* XXVI, 386.

[21] Murray G. Lawson, *Fur, a Study in English Mercantilism 1700-1775,* Univ. of Toronto Stud. in Hist. and Econ., IV (1943), 7.

[22] Harold A. Innis, " Fur Trade and Industry," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* VI, 530.

[23] Quoted by Lawson, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[24] Harold A. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada, an Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (New Haven, 1930), p. 2.

some other rivers ports and places there or neere thereunto . . . for furrs beaver skins corne and other commodities." [25]

There might have been special urgency in carrying out the settlement of the Kent Island in 1632, stemming from Dutch activities on the Delaware. Upon abandoning their settlement of Fort Nassau in 1628, the Dutch had in April, 1631, established a new settlement, Swaanendael on Lewes Creek, near the Delaware. Although this settlement was destroyed by Indians in the same year, still another attempt at settlement was made in 1632 by De Vries, showing that the Dutch had not given up. Claiborne was not slow in pointing out that his trade would divert the Indian trade from the Dutch to the English.[26] Furthermore, he added that " the Trade of the French in Canada and Quebec might be brought downe that way into Virginia and to the said intended plantacion." [27] Claiborne's argument bears striking resemblances to that advanced by Thomas Savage, who not long before wrote to the London Company of Virginia in a similar propagandistic vein about the potentialities of the bay trade. Whichever of Claiborne's motives, trade, colonization or patriotism was foremost, he succeeded in his aim of settling Kent Island.

A large number of conflicting claims have been made concerning the site of the original settlement on Kent Island, but no conclusive evidence is available to date that might decide between them. Prominent contenders are Indian Spring Plantation, a farm located on Shipping Creek, various sites near Tanner's and Long Creek, and some farms further south, on the various creeks north of Kent Point. Shore line study, unfortunately, is inadequate as a guide to the early settlement. Any one of the Eastern Bay inlets between Kent Point and Shipping Creek might have been Claiborne's anchorage. The fact that many are now blocked by sandbars does not exclude them, since these bars are sometimes created in the course of one storm, and are breached with equal ease. An archaeological search for the site has not thus far been undertaken, but conjecture has led historians, including Davis, Emory, and Scharf to conclude that the site was close to Kent Point.[28] Indian Spring, however, may also have been a farm or settlement

[25] " Claiborne vs. Clobery," *MdHM,* XXVI (1931), 386.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] " Claiborne vs. Clobery," *MdHM,* XXVII (1932), 338.
[28] Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland. Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 314.

established by Claiborne. It is located southeast of Craney Creek, and may have been part of Crayford plantation established there by Claiborne and two other partners. Kent Fort Manor lands, however, which include the site of Claiborne's settlement, never reached as far north as Shipping Creek.

While intensive search of land titles and field work in the summer of 1956 failed to disclose the location of Claiborne's settlement, the following assumptions may be advanced on the basis of that work. After Claiborne's effective hold on Kent Island was broken by the followers of Lord Baltimore, the lands of Crayford plantation and Kent Fort were converted into manors, and the population of southern Kent Island during the 1640's and 1650's was required to pay manorial fees, one part of the population at Kent Fort Manor, and one part at Crayford Manor. In England it was the privilege of manor lords to require their peasantry to mill their corn in the local mill and to exact a fee for the milling. We do not know to what extent the English manorial model was duplicated on Kent Island, but we do know that one day of taxation was Michaelmas, the 29th of September, which was a common date for manorial taxation in England. Furthermore, as the Rent Rolls of Kent Island reveal, the farmer there, as well as his counterpart in England, delivered his fees in kind—corn and wheat at the mill of the manor lord. Two windmills were built by Claiborne in 1635, one on Crayford Plantation lands and one at Kent Fort.[29]

The mill at Crayford Manor was located on a farm three quarters of a mile south of Craney Creek. A windmill on the same site was still operated in 1877, and a millstone from this latter mill was located in July, 1956, on a farm nearby, owned by Elbert Nostrand Carvel. No such tangible evidence is available for the location of the first plantation of Kent Manor, but there is relevant indrect evidence. In some titles and wills a farm located on the first inlet of Eastern Bay north of Kent Point is called St. Michael's farm. It is possible that the site of the manor's mill and buildings, in short the site of Claiborne's first settlement, was located on this farm, whose name may have been derived from Michaelmas, the day of taxation. Only archaeological exploration, however, can confirm or weaken this thesis.

[29] *Archives,* V, 184.

Toward the end of the 1630's, the population of Kent Island had reached 120 men and an undesignated number of women and children. Claiborne recognized the need of a pioneering plantation colony for skilled traders, hunters, laborers, and craftsmen, such as smiths and millwrights. Between the freemen who settled at the island in response to his encouragement and the indentured servants shipped by his English trading partners, Clobery and Co., Claiborne managed to build up such a group of men. Several considerations must have molded Claiborne's vigorous and astute method of settlement. One factor was surely the economic necessity of producing enough goods to maintain profitable communications with primary colonies in the James River area and with England. Of further influence were Claiborne's political ambitions. Which reason was the dominant one for his policy cannot in the absence of detailed records be determined.

The partnership between Claiborne and Clobery broke up, and a bitter feud was conducted before the Court of Admiralty in London. From the proceedings of that suit data concerning the indentured population of the island can be derived. According to Clobery, five ships were dispatched to Kent Island, the *Affrica* first, with twenty indentured servants, the *James* with thirty, the *Revenge* with seven, and the *John and Barbara* and *Sara and Elizabeth* with eighteen each. Claiborne, on the other hand, claimed that only seventeen were sent on the *Affrica,* and not more than twenty-two had been sent on the *James* and *Revenge* combined.[30] Only the figures given by Claiborne concerning the last two ships agree with those furnished by Clobery.[31]

The roots of colonial servitude were in the English apprenticeship and vagrancy laws. The philosophy behind both was the enforcement of contract—the contract between master and apprentice on the one hand, and between master and servant on the other. Both apprentice and servant were compelled to serve a specified number of years. The policy of importing indentured servants to the colony was sanctioned in Virginia in 1619 and was widely practiced there.[32] For the most part these servants were sent to colonial office holders who either put them to work on

[30] *MdHM,* XXVII, 209.
[31] *Ibid.,* p. 104.
[32] Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Political and Social History* (New York, 1948), p. 55 ff.

KENT ISLAND

Photo by H. Robins Hollyday

their own plantations, or leased them out, as often proved more profitable, for a tobacco payment.[33]

It is probable that the servants shipped to Kent Island by Clobery were in " noe way sufficiente . . . for the maintenance and defendinge of the saide plantacion againste the Indians, and to manne the pinnaces and boates for the followinge of the trade." [34] Not only were numbers insufficient, but the quality of some of the indentured servants left much to be desired. The Vagrancy Acts and Statute of Apprentices, passed almost one hundred years before the settlement of the island, were designed to cope with the rogues, vagabonds, and beggars who haunted English roads, a " feared and hated group displaced from their land in the wake of the economic changes in Tudor England." [35] In the intervening years between the adoption of vagrancy and apprenticeship legislation and the shipment of indentured servants, conditions improved and the indentured servant was a different man from the one to whom the laws of the mid-sixteenth century had applied.[36] Nonetheless, the individual was as a rule probably far from the ideal of a hard-working farmhand. While the harsh vagrancy and apprenticeship legislation of the mid-sixteenth century had been softened in the following period, the end of that century and the beginning of the seventeenth century marked a return to general severity, indicating in part that the class from which indentured servants were recruited had probably not improved very much.

We have no biographical data concerning the servants who came to Kent Island, but undoubtedly they were like the general run of indentured servants shipped to the colonies. The unskilled servants were either recruited from towns or from the landless of the countryside.[37] They had a vague familiarity with agricultural practice in England and no familiarity with requirements of American agriculture. This alone would necessitate the additional importation of experienced men from the Virginia settlements, and inefficient servants meant that many laborers were required to

[33] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[34] *MdHM,* XXVII, 209.
[35] G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England,* new ed. (New York, 1954), II, 33.
[36] George Alsop who was in Maryland in the 1650's is an example of the better educated men who came to Maryland as indentured servants. Alsop was the author of a pamphlet on Maryland, *A Character of the Province of Maryland,* published in London in 1666.
[37] E. I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland 1634-1820,* John Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Vol. XXII (Baltimore, 1904).

accomplish what a few skilled hands could do. Some of the servants had no sense of morality or of responsibility.[38] Claiborne reported that one of the indentured servants " was thought by the men to have fyred the houses willingly and therefore they would not indure him. Whereupon I sold his tyme being a very untoward youth." [39]

Not all of the servants were unskilled, however. In his suit with Cloberry and Company, Claiborne furnished a list of the names of all such servants as were employed upon the trade and the plantation of the Isle of Kent during his abode there. Those marked by H in the list which follows were hired for wages. These hired servants may have been indentured to someone else, for Claiborne hired out some of his servants. The list shows the distribution of specialized tasks in the company venture and thereby reflects something of the nature of life and work in the colony.[40]

1631 " The names of such persons as were transported in the Affrica uppon the joynt accompt viz."

1. Thomas Bagwell, trader
2. John Belson, carpenter
3. John Parre, hog keeper
4. Henry East
5. Thomas Kendell
6. William Cocke
7. John Russell, boy

" These 4 were imployed in the kitchin to dress victualls bread corne and other worke in the howse."

8. Joane Young, " mayd servant to wash our linnen "
9. Henry Pincke, " reader of prayers in the howse He breaks his Legg and was unserviceable "
10. John Thompson
11. Phillipp Hamblyn
12. John Dunne
13. Christofer ffleming
14. John Buttler
15. Thomas Ivypland

" These men being the ablest men dyed within 3 or 4 monthes after our arrivall whereof greate cause was the hardness they indured by loose of our goodes and cloathes by fyre."

16. " Richard Hanlsey was thought by the men to have fyred the houses willingly and therefore they would not indure him. Whereupon I sold his tyme being a very untoward youth."
17. Arthur Figes, " Leiftenant "
18. William Claiborne Captain

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[38] The ideas developed in this section are based, in part, on McCormac's work and Trevelyan's *History of England* and *English Social History*. Other helpful works were L. C. Gray's *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States* (Washington, 1933) and E. B. Greene and V. D. Harrington's *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932).

[39] " Claiborne vs. Clobery," *MdHM*, XXVIII (1933), 181.

[40] The list is reprinted from *MdHM*, pp. 180-187, in abbreviated form.

" More servants hired there by Captaine Cleyborne viz."

1. Richard Thompson H
2. John Abbott H
3. James Lerricke H
4. Henry Ubancke [Eubancke] H
5. Martin Male [Mole] H
6. Edward Backler H
7. William Collupp H

1632 " Men I implyed this yeare uppon the joynt accompt viz."

1. William Claiborne, Captain
2. Richard James, minister
3. Arthur Figes, " leiftenant "
4. Richard Popsley, overseer of the men
5. William Cockes, carpenter
6. Hughe Hayward, huntsman
7. Henry Euancke [Eubancke] H
8. Martin Male [Mole] H
9. Edward Backler, hog keeper H
10. John Parr, hog keeper
11. Joan Young, maid servant
12. Richard Thompson, trader H
13. William Collupp, trader H
14. Jeames Lerricke, trader H
15. Sparrowbill, trader H
16. John Abbott, labourer H
17. Richard Bradnall, labourer
18. William Cocke, labourer
19. Joseph Cockes, labourer
20. John Belsor, labourer
21. Henry East
22. Thomas Kendall

" Theise were imployed in the kitchin to beat corne."

23. Thomas Leicester
24. John Russell, a boy
25. Christoper Flemming, sick

" Our workes and imployments theise two yeares were

1. To build our howses
2. To pallizado our fort and fortify us against the Indians
3. To cleare ground, to fence it, and plant corne and victuals and tend our hoggs
4. To Keepe men abroad in severall boates a trading, which was our principall worke.

Wee went in boates often to Virginia to supply ourselves of cloathes and other necessaries."

1633 " Men imployed this yeare upon the service for the joynt account at the Isle of Kent."

1. William Claiborne, captain
2. Arthur Figes, lieftenant
3. Richard James, minister
4. Hugh Heywood, overseer and huntsman
5. William Coxe, carpenter
6. Henry Eubancke, interpreter H
7. Martin Mole, gardener
8. Edward Blackler, hog keeper
9. John Parr, hog keeper
10. Richard Thompson, trader H
11. James Lerricke, trader H
12. William Collupp, trader H
13. Sparrowbill, trader
14. William Caske, labourer
15. Joseph Coxe, labourer
16. John Abbott, labourer H
17. John Belson, labourer
18. Henry East, labourer

19. Thomas Cakebread H
20. Thomas Kendall " imployed in the Ketchin "
21. John Russell
22. Joane Qually, maid servant H

" This yeare our imployments were as in former yeares and wee planted 2000 plants of tobacco or fewe more "

1634 " Men imployed uppon the service of the Isle of Kent this yeare "

1. William Claiborne, captain
2. Arthur Figes, liefteneant
3. Richard James, minister
4. Hugh Heywood, overseer
5. William Coxe, carpenter
6. Robert Cooper, carpenter ½ year
7. Henry Eubancke, interpreter H
8. Martin Mole, gardner H
9. Edward Backler, ranger H
10. Joan Qually, maid servant H
11. John Pimmell, trader H
12. Thomas Goavell, trader H
13. Edward Thompson, trader H
14. Sparrowbell, trader
15. John Belson, labourer
16. John Parr, labourer
17. William Cocke, labourer
18. William Dawson, labourer
19. Henry Hewitt, labourer
20. Thomas Cakebread H " imployed in the Ketchin to beate corne and dresse Victualls "
21. Henry East
22. Thomas Kendall
23. John Russell

" This yeare we were mutch hindered and molested by the Indians falling out with us and killing our men and by the Marylanders hindring our trade. Wee made our ffort strong etc."

" Servants reseaved out of England by the shipp James and Revenge viz."

1. Anthony Lynney, millwright
2. Thomas Woodhouse, carpenter
3. John Bennett, carpenter
4. Richard Hobbin, smith
5. Richard Hall, carpenter
6. William Elvis, sawyer

" Theise were upon wages and found themselves cloathes."

7. Edward Parry
8. Henry Barcum
9. John Assett, gardner
10. Roger Backster, smith
11. Samuell Scovell, sawyer
12. Howell Morgan
13. Thomas White
14. Thomas Audly, boy
15. Ariginall Browne, old and decrepit
16. Matthew Roadon
17. Edward Deering, sea boy
18. Henry Hunt
19. Phillip Jones " weake men and dyed in 4 or 6 monthes "
20. John Hazerd
21. John Eastrill, carpenter
22. Thomas Symons, carpenter

1635

1. Hugh Heyward, overseer of the men
2. William Coxe, carpenter
3. Thomas Smyth, storekeeper
4. Anthony Lynny
5. John Eastrill
6. Thomas Symons

" millwrights and carpenters "

7. John Bennett
8. Thomas Woodhowse
9. Richard Hill
10. Richard Hobin, smith
11. William Ellins, sawyer
12. John Belson, carpenter
13. Henry Eubancke, interpreter H
14. Edward Backler, ranger H
15. Henry East, planter
16. Thomas Cakebread
17. Thomas Kendall
18. William Cocke
19. John Russell

" imployed to dresse victualls or to beate corne "

20. Henry Barcum, tailor
21. John Ascul, gardner
22. Roger Baxter, smith
23. Samuel Scovell, sawyer
24. Howell Morgand
25. Thomas White
26. Edmond Parry
27. Originall Browne
28. Thomas Audley

" woodcutters and labourers "

29. Henry Hunt
30. Philip Jones
31. John Haggerd
32. Matthew Raidon, hired out
33. Edward Dearing, sea boy
34. John Puriwell, seaman H
35. Robert Lake, seaman H
36. Joane Qualley H
37. Mary Martyn H
39. Joyce Davis H

" mayd servants imployed in the kitchen and dary "

" This year our imployments were as in other years; but for our trade wee made many voyages; wee did little good and had many hinderances from the Marylanders. Our principall imployments for our men were in making 2 windmills."

1636 " Men imployed upon the services at the Isle of Kent this yeare "

1. Thomas Smyth, trader
2. Thomas Adams, storekeeper
3. Edmund Parry, over the men
4. Vincent Mansfeild, lame
5. John Ascue, gardener
6. John Pinwell, seaman H
7. Robert Lake, seaman H
8. Edward Deering, trader H
9. Edward Thompson, trader H
10. Henry Hawley, trader
11. Sparrowbell
12. Samuel Scovell, sawyer
13. Matthew Priest, sawyer H
14. Francis Brookes, miller
15. William Westley, miller
16. Henry Barcum
17. Thomas White, labourer
18. Howell Morgan ,labourer
19. Originall Browne, labourer
20. John Russell, labourer
21. William Freeman H
22. Richard Reyman H

23. Roger Baxter, hired out	24. Matthew Royden, hired out
25. Thomas Audley, hired out	
26. Joane Vizard	
27. Mary Martin	" in the Kitchin
28. Anne Matthews	and dary "
29. Thomas Cakebread	

" This yeare our works were as other yeares in trading and planting but especially wee were imployed in perfecting the mills. Wee framed 2 other mills perfectly so farr as we could ready to set up. Wee framed the church we sawed divers stocks to boards."

The list gives no information about free settlers. Other settlers on Kent Island had for the most part belonged to one of two groups; either they had been tenants on the Virginian plantations of Claiborne, or they had squatted on his lands in Accomac. Claiborne apparently treated the former well and did not prosecute the latter. These people formed a strong personal attachment to Claiborne and followed enthusiastically his call to settle Kent Island. They were acclimatized, familiar with agricultural conditions in Virginia, and probably seasoned in Indian wars. The latter was probably an important consideration in view of the massacre of Dutch settlers at Swaanendale near the Delaware, which made preparedness and a reliable core of settlers imperative.[41] The loyalty to Claiborne on the part of the freemen hired in Virginia persisted even after he had lost legal control of the island. One of these men testified in his behalf before the Court of Admiralty, and the record of the testimony reads " if it had not beene for the love and goodwill which this deponent and other freemen did beare to the said Claiborne they would not have served for twice soe much to any other." [42] Negroes appeared on the island at this early phase of settlement. They were probably slaves hired out to Claiborne by their owners.[43]

Young and old were few in the little colony. Among the first year's group of indentured servants was one boy and one " youth." [44] Two more boys arrived in the fourth year,[45] one of whom was employed as a woodcutter a year after his arrival and the other as a trader. The latter may have been placed among the

[41] *Archives*, V, 220.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[43] *MdHM*, XXVIII, 39.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 184

Indians in order to learn their language, a common procedure in the Chesapeake Bay.[46] The kitchen boy who arrived with the first group must have been very young to have been "imployed in the kitchen to beat corne"[47] for five years. At the other extreme of the population pyramid was Originall Browne, who honored his name by being "old and decrepit."[48] He must have had great stamina to survive the rigours of transatlantic passage, and to act in the succeeding years as woodcutter and laborer.

Only one woman, "Joane Young mayd servant to wash our linnen"[49] was included in the first group of servants to arrive on the *Affrica.* In the lists dated 1635 and 1636 there were three women. These represent, however, replacements as well as additions, for matrimony or mortality (it is impossible to determine which) was responsible for the disappearance of the women from the lists. It is not known whether more personal services than the washing of linen were required from these woman. Hale, a biographer of Claiborne, believes this to be the case,[50] but we do not actually know anything about the family structure on the island among the free or the indentured servants. The great disproportion between the sexes undoubtedly encouraged easy marriages. George Alsop, an early writer of Maryland who himself came to the proprietary province as an indentured servant, wrote: "The women that go over into this Province as servants, have the best luck here as in any place of the world besides; for they are no sooner on shoar, but they are courted into copulative Matrimony."[51] Although Alsop wrote some thirty years after the settlement of Kent Island and in some respects as a propagandist for the colony, which was trying to encourage the immigration of women, his statement was probably true for the period preceding his when the sex disproportions were even more glaring.

Mortality was extraordinarily high among the servants. What the state of health of the population as a whole was, cannot be determined, since what little data are available comes from Claiborne's suit against Clobery and refers to the English servant

[46] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 95.
[47] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 181.
[48] *Ibid.,* p. 184.
[49] *Ibid.,* p. 181.
[50] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 143.
[51] George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Maryland,* reprinted in Gowan's *Bibliotheca Americana,* ed. John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1869), p. 59.

group alone. Six of the arrivals on the *Affrica* died within three to four months after their landing. Two of the group that came on the *James* and the *Revenge* died within four to six months. The high mortality may be ascribed in part to the hardships of pioneering a new plantation. In speaking of the first group, Claiborne reported that "greate cause was the hardness they indured by loose of our goodes and cloathes by fyre." [52] The servants had also been subjected to the rigours of a sea voyage. After two months and more on small overcrowded ships, with bad water, and food often spoiled in the latter stage of the voyage, they arrived in a state of lowered physical resistance which courted disease.

The *Affrica* arrived in the Bay in the middle of the summer. It took additional provisions in Kecoughtan, touched at Accomac on August 11, 1631, and reached Kent Island late in August. The timing could not have been worse, for, as Bruce, the economic historian of Virginia, asserted, it was dangerous to reach Virginia before late autumn when the frost had killed the germs of the ague, the term used generally to describe malarial fever. In the summer of 1635, fifteen ship masters died out of the thirty-six who had entered the bay for the first time. A Dutchman in Virginia in 1630 remarked that unseasoned people died like cats and dogs between June and August.[53]

If the settlers had come to Kent Island somewhat later or somewhat earlier in the year, they might have had more time to acclimatize themselves. But, although there is no available data to show why the colonization of Kent Island was undertaken in the summer, there are a number of possible reasons for this choice of season. The majority of transatlantic voyages were made in the summer in order to avoid storms.[54] It is possible, moreover, that the settlement of the island was timed to coincide with the fall maturing of Indian corn which might help to tide the settlers over the winter.[55] Another highly probable reason was the need to provide a return cargo for the *Affrica*.[56]

Trade was obviously a most important motive in the settlement

[52] *MdHM*, XXVIII, 181.
[53] See Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, 1953), p. 11.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[55] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[56] *MdHM*, XXVII, 23.

of Kent Island, and for Claiborne's English partners, perhaps the only motive. Even if political ambition had been foremost among Claiborne's own motives, he would have been forced to trade in order to achieve solvency for his colony. The importance of return cargoes for the ships that supplied his little island cannot be overemphasized.

Cloberry and Company, according to Claiborne, received a return cargo for the *Affrica,* part of which was a load of salt. This product was manufactured during the early summer and "wheelbarrowes" [57] were provided for the ship when she was sent to pick up the salt. Beaver pelts, obtained between March and June, the time of major fur trade with the Indians, also formed a part of the cargo. It was thus advantageous to schedule the arrival of ships after June for these products to be ready for shipment back to England.

Wood cut on the island was also exported. It was cut for various uses, such as pipe staves,[58] and probably for shipbuilding. The predominance of pines was fortunate in that "good sound Pitch Pine" was highly valued for shipbuilding,[59] and the relative scarcity of hardwoods was no drawback, since American oak, so it was believed, "did not come up to our English oak in goodness." [60] Although beaver pelts, wood, salt, corn, and after 1633 some tobacco [61] were shipped from Kent Island, the quantities were not sufficient to warrant English ships making regular calls on the island. The young plantation was compelled to ship its produce and beaver to Virginia, where colonial exports from many points in the colony were assembled for shipment to Europe. Overhead was thus incurred in leasing storage space and defraying mooring charges, especially in the first years, when "expenses in our several voyages at Kecoughtan Accomack James Citty" ran to £7 10*s.*[62]

Kent Island became a factor in intercolonial trade. Supplying corn to New England from the Chesapeake Bay was a profitable if hazardous business. Captain Fleet, a competitor of Claiborne,

[57] *Ibid.,* pp. 102, 212.
[58] *Archives,* V, 171.
[59] Middleton, *op. cit.*
[60] *Journal of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, Mar. 1714/5—Oct 1718,* p. 218.
[61] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 172 ff.
[62] *Ibid.,* p. 34.

who also engaged in this trade, left a vivid description of the conditions under which the trade was carried on.

I was engaged to pay a quantity of Indian corn in New England . . . And when I observed that winter was very forward, and that if I should proceed and be frozen in, it might be a great hindrance to my proceedings . . . making all the convenient haste I could, I took into the barque her lading of Indian corn . . . The 6th of December we weighed anchor, shaping our course directly for New England, but the wind being contrary, ending with a fearful storm, we were forced into the inhabited river of James Town . . . But at this time I was much troubled with the seamen, all of them resolving not to stir until the spring, alleging that it was impossible to gain a passage in winter, and that the load being corn was the more dangerous. But the master and his mate, who were engaged for the delivery of the corn labored to persuade and encourage them to proceed, showing that it would be to their benefit; so that, with threats and fair persuasions, at last I prevailed.[63]

Claiborne had prepared for his entrance into intercolonial trade while he was in England. On April 30, 1631, John Winthrop, Jr., wrote to his father, the Governor of Massachusetts, concerning a contract he had made with Captain Claiborne to ship forty tons of Indian wheat from Virginia to Boston.

. . . the ship that bringeth it which is the Africa whereof Captain Claybourne is commander. He and the merchants that set him out offer us to bring what corne we will for fish, and for this would take fysh of you if you could provide it for them. This corne we understand they buy of the natives there for trucke, there is a great store all alongst the coasts, from a little to the southward of you to Florida and beyond, etc, and to be had for toyes, beads, copper, tooles, knives, glasses and such like.[64]

The most important commercial activity of the island was the beaver trade. In a statement before the Court of Admiralty dated October 29, 1639, and titled "Personal answer of Cleborne to Cloberry's libel," the benefits of six years of trading for beaver pelts were enumerated. During that period Claiborne had received from England goods valued (by Claiborne) at £757 11*s* 5*d*. In addition to these goods, he purchased £814 5*s* worth of trading goods in Virginia "which had they been boughte and sente out of England by the said Cloberrie and Companie would not have coste as he believeth above the summe of [£]450." This investment

[63] Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 14.
[64] Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, 5th Ser., XVIII, 31.

yielded, according to Claiborne, a return of 7,488 pounds of beaver and 2,843 bushels of corn. Since beaver was valued at twelve shillings a pound, and corn at four pence a bushel, they yielded respectively the equivalent of £4,492 8*s* and £47.[65] The white trader then, gained a return slightly under three times the sum which he spent for trading goods. To the returns from the beaver trade, profits reaped from "sendinge corne to Newe England and Nova Scotia" [66] must be added, as well as £581 10*s* which Claiborne received for selling "unto severall persons the quantitie 1853 bushells." [67]

Although not all of this, of course was profit, the total returns for a six-year period of trading amount to almost four hundred per cent over the original investment. It must be remembered, moreover, that the sums submitted were offered by Claiborne, and if it is true, as his former partners alleged before the Court of Admiralty, that Claiborne retained part of the trade profits, the proportion of profit to investment may have been even higher.

Inasmuch as trade with the Indian occupied a large share of the energies of Kent Island settlers, a brief account of the nature of that trade goes far in illuminating the milieu of the small settlement. Claiborne graphically described the dangers of the trade.

> . . . our trade with the Indians is allwayes with danger of our lives; And that we usually trade in a shallop or small pinnace, being 6 or 7 English men encompassed with two or 300 Indians. And that is as much as we can doe to defend our selves by standing on our guard with our armes ready and our gunns presented in our handes. Two or 3 of the men must looke to the trucke that the Indians doe not steale it, and a great deale of trucke is often stole by the Indians though we look never soe well to it.[68]

Of Indian bargaining habits and the burden they placed on the white trader, Claiborne wrote:

> Parte of the trucke is given away to Kings and great men for presents; and commonly one third part of the same is spent for victualls, and upon other occasions. And that the usuall manner of that trade is to shew our trucke, which the Indians wilbe very long and teadeous in viewing, and doe tumble it and tosse it and mingle it a hundred times over soe that it is impossible to keepe the severall parcells a sunder. And if any traders

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[65] *MdHM,* XXVII, 205-206.
[66] *Ibid.,* p. 99.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.,* p. 344.

will not suffer the Indians soe to doe they wilbe distasted with the said traders and fall out with them and refuse to have any trade.[69]

To keep strict accounting in this kind of trade was extremely difficult.

it is not convenient or possible to keepe an account in that trade for every axe knife or string of beades or for every yard of cloth, especiallie because the Indians trade not by any certeyne measure or by our English waightes and measures. And therefore every particuler cannot be written downe by it selfe distinctly. Wherefore all traders find it that it is impossible to keepe any other perfect account then att the End of the voiadge to see what is sold and what is gained and what is lefte.[70]

Kent Island traders nonetheless probably encountered fewer difficulties than the traders who had preceded them and had first established trading contacts with the Indians. By the 1630's the Indians were familiar with the value placed by the white man on certain goods and the return he offered for them. An increasing orientation of Indian life to the beaver trade probably marked a fundamental cultural revolution, but a revolution which had begun before the settlement of Kent Island. Captain Fleet may have been responsible for initiating this fundamental change. Fleet relates that: " the Indians had not preserved their beaver but burnt it as their custom is whereupon I endeavoured by persuasion to alter that custom and to preserve it for me against the next spring, promising to come there with commodities of exchange by the first of April." [71] Of Claiborne's skill as a trader it has been written that " noe other Englishman which traded with the Indians in the yeares aforesaid made soe good voiadges or gott soe many beaver skinnes for soe little trucke as appeares to be gotten by the said Claiborne. . . ." [72]

Both as settlers and as traders the men of Kent Island depended on the bay. As settlers, they derived their vital supplies and shipped their produce on this waterway, and as traders they relied on the 4,612 miles of its tidal shore line and its forty-eight principal rivers for their marketplace. The life of the settlers was almost amphibious, and a prime necessity was sufficient boats to make use of the unusually extensive pattern of waterways. On the arrival

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 345.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 14.
[72] *MdHM,* XXVII, 344.

of the *Affrica* in Virginia, Claiborne acquired rudder irons, and twenty-three deal boards of fir and pine wood for the construction of a shallop and other uses.[73] The policy of equipping the settlers with the prefabricated parts of boats shows considerable efficiency in the technique of seaboard colonization. The method did not originate with Claiborne for the first colonists to Virginia brought with them from England a barge broken down into its components. Similarly Lord Baltimore's settlers came equipped with a " Barge, which was brought in pieces out of *England*, & there made up." [74]

For the Indian trade, the people of Kent Island needed craft of medium size. Like the other traders on the bay, to a large extent they built their own vessels. Captain Henry Fleet, for example, in 1632 built a shallop and a " Barque " of 16 tons.[75] By 1634 Claiborne had a shipyard on Kent Island which produced pinnaces and shallops. This was the first known yard in what became Maryland.

The Kent Island " shallopps," " pinnaces " and unspecialized " boats " all had quaint names. One shallop was named *Cockatrice,* another *Start.*[76] " Makeing the halfe decke and raising the boats " converted the *Firefly* from boat to pinnace. The name of the pinnace *Long Tail* [77] was probably derived from the beaver pelts for which it went to the bay's Indian villages.[78]

Upkeep of the boats involved a special problem. The absence of fresh water anchorages on Kent Island exposed boats to one of the scourges of the bay, the " wormes " (Teredo Navalis) and barnacles which infest the brackish waters of the bay and frequently caused irreparable damage to pinnaces and shallops. The disastrous effect of the worms was described by Beverley: " In the month of *June* Annually, there rise up in the salts, vast Beds of Seedling-Worms which enter the ships, sloops or Boats whereever they find the Coat of Pitch, Tar, or Lime worn off the Timber; and by degrees eat the Plank into cells like those of a Honeycomb." [79] The menace persisted to the middle of July, according to Beverly, when the worms disappeared after the first great rains of the summer until the next year.

[73] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 32.
[74] *Relation of Maryland* (1634), p. 11.
[75] M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay, A Pictorial Maritime History* (Cambridge, Md., 1956), p. 9.
[76] *Archives,* V, 161-162, 190.
[77] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 34.
[78] *Ibid.,* p. 38.
[79] Middleton, *op. cit.,* pp. 35-36.

The Teredo Navalis is still common on Kent Island in the beginning of August and by the end of the month is found at the head of inlets such as Coxes Creek. At the present boats are coated before the " work season " with copper paint, which apparently ionizes the water layer in contact with the boat bottom and repels the worms.[80] In the period of settlement this expedient was, of course, unknown, and settlers coated their boats with pitch and lime. In 1632 £3.8.0 were spent on " a barrell of brimstone to keepe our boates from the wormes." [81] Other methods probably used on the island are mentioned by Beverley in his *History of Virginia* such as the application of tallow and burning of the bottoms as soon as the worms had passed.[82]

" Sheathing " was a further means of protection. In 1632, one Robert Hewet was paid " for sheathing the pinnace," [83] a process consisting of covering the boat's bottom with a shell of planks, generally of pine wood. The worms attacked this outer sheath, but did not penetrate the ship's bottom itself. This record of sheathing a boat on Kent Island antedates by sixty years the first record of sheathing mentioned by Arthur Pierce Middleton, who refers to 1696 as the date when the sloop *Spywell* had a sheath " layed on." [84]

Summer was then a period of great activity. In addition to general planting chores, the settlers had to prepare the boats for the " worms season " and send them to Indian villages and trade rendezvous. Many of the islanders went to trade, for experience had taught them that at least three or four boats, each manned by six or seven men, were required in order to conclude a profitable trading season. Otherwise the returns were insufficient to warrant shipping the beaver furs via Virginia to England.[85] Aboard their ships the settlers looked more like sailors than planters, for they wore " frise coates " and went ashore in " wadeing bootes." [86]

Not much is known about land use in the first period. Corn was raised, cows and hogs were kept, and while the mill stone at which

[80] Information obtained by the author from Dr. Reginald T. Truitt, Biologist, formerly in charge of the Maryland Department of Education and Research Experiment Station, Solomons Island, now living on Kent Island.
[81] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 36.
[82] Middleton, *op. cit.,* p. 235.
[83] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 174.
[84] Middleton, *op. cit.,* p. 236.
[85] *Archives,* V, 192.
[86] *MdHM,* XXVIII, 172.

the island's corn was milled was shipped from England, the cog wheels and mechanism were made on the island by millwrights sent by Clobery and Company.[87] "There being much feed and grasse on the said plantation," thirty cows were purchased by Claiborne from Sir Thomas Gates in Virginia.[88] The year of 1634 was a bad one for Virginia's corn crop, and the earliest record of the destruction of corn by what is believed to be the cornborer. A letter from Samuel Matthews of "Newport Neewes" to Sir John Wolstenholme of May 25, 1635, records an "unusual kind of wevell that last yeare eate our Corne."[89] Since Claiborne does not seem to have omitted any disasters that occurred in his testimony before the Court of Admiralty, and since the destruction of a corn crop might have helped to explain the deficit Clobery and Company claimed to have found in Claiborne's accounts, it is apparent that Kent Island was spared this affliction. The remoteness from Virginia and the insularity of the island probably prevented the spread of the pest to Kent Island.

With the creation of Lord Baltimore's new province, and after the contest between Baltimore and Claiborne for possession of the island had been settled in favor of the former, proprietary policy became an increasingly important factor in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century development of the island.

(*To be continued*)

[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Archives*, V, 193.
[89] Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 111.

HENRI HERZ' DESCRIPTION OF BALTIMORE

Edited by Henry Bertram Hill and Larry Gara

THE majority of nineteenth-century European intellectuals had to rely upon published travel accounts for their impression of life in the United States. All of the travel accounts help us to reconstruct the "image of America" which Europeans developed. Among the many works which added to this image was the book written by the popular French pianist and composer Henri Herz.[1] From 1846 to 1851 Herz toured the Americas and in 1866 he published his impressions of the New World in what was to be the first of two travel books.[2]

Herz described a number of American cities including Baltimore, which he visited between concert series in New York. He found the city gay and charming. The churches attracted his attention and he included a description of the Catholic cathedral. He commented on the beautiful women of Baltimore and added a humorous illustration of the kind of trickery musicians sometimes resorted to on concert tours. Humorous, too, is Herz' description of the spitters' club which demonstrates that the American passion for contests of all kinds is not a twentieth-century innovation.[3]

Baltimore, known to Americans as the *city of monuments,* impressed me as most gay and charming. It is built on sloping land, crossed by a stream

[1] Heinrich Herz (1806-1888), a native of Austria, went to France to study music as a child prodigy. He considered himself French and used the professional name Henri Herz. His long career included numerous successful concert tours, a professorship at the Paris Conservatory, two ventures into the business of manufacturing fine pianos, and the building of a concert hall. Some critics have maintained that Herz lacked first-rate musical ability, but both his concerts and his numerous compositions were very popular in his day. More than two hundred compositions are credited to him. Eric Bloom, ed., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 5th ed., 9 vols. (New York, 1955), IV, 259-260.

[2] *Mes voyages en Amérique* (Paris, 1866). Herz never published a second volume.

[3] The part of Herz' book reprinted here was translated from the French by Henry Bertram Hill.

which empties into the Patapsco River. Numerous bridges join the two halves of the city, in the middle of which rises majestically the column dedicated to Washington and crowned by a statue of that great citizen. This commemorative monument is almost two hundred English feet high, and is surpassed in height only by a tower used in the manufacture of shot. This tower, in which the lead falls so far that it is rounded, is considered by Americans to be the highest in the entire world. It was in regard to this tower that an American said to me one day, his eyes burning with enthusiasm, that if Europe was *picturesque,* America was *beautiful,* and that it was necessary to come to America to find the great masterpieces of nature. . . .[4] What this American told me I later convinced myself was not exaggerated. The United States is really the place where the Creator has displayed his most magnificent masterpieces for our admiration.

I believe that there is no other city in the United States so liberally supplied with churches, chapels, and temples for all sects as Baltimore. No restriction on religious liberty exists in America, where all faiths are equal in their possession of all the rights of freedom of conscience. By the terms of the constitution of the United States Congress cannot make any law relative to the establishment of a religion, or to prohibit its free exercise. No religious oath can ever be required for the holding of a public office in the United States. Because of this arrangement it can be said without exaggeration that all kinds of religious sects can be found all over the country. Talleyrand, a diplomat whose name everyone knows, when he visited America was struck, as all travelers are, by the existence of so many different sects living under one government. . . .[5] What I myself witnessed corroborates the observations of the celebrated diplomat. I would add, however, that the farther south one goes in the United States the more numerous are the adherents to the Catholic religion; while in the north the Protestant sects flourish.

The Catholic cathedral in Baltimore is considered one of the most beautiful structures of its type. The truth is, however, that although it is a spacious church, well executed on the interior, the exterior proportions leave much to be desired by our standards. I could not dream for an instant of comparing this cathedral with any of the great Gothic or Renaissance cathedrals we have in Europe. The Baltimore cathedral is in the form of a Greek cross, with a dome over the center. The dome seemed too flat to me, and the arches supporting it too heavy and lacking in grace. Some of the interior ornaments are worthy of attention, among them the two paintings given to the church by Louis XVIII of France. One of them, representing the descent from the cross, is by Paulin Guérin;[6] the other is said to be a copy of a Rubens, which I strongly doubt, the composition of the work being less than mediocre. I was told that the organ in the Baltimore cathedral was the largest in the United States. The manuals

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[4] A long passage listing some of America's natural wonders follows.

[5] The deleted portion is a quotation from Talleyrand on religious toleration in the United States.

[6] Jean Baptiste Paulin Guérin (1783-1855) was a popular French painter who specialized in portraits and religious scenes.

seemed to be supplied with an extensive number of stops, but I had no occasion to hear the instrument.

Baltimore has an atmosphere of wealth about it and it also appears to have the most beautiful women in the whole country. At my concerts I was carried away to see so many beautiful faces all at once. All of them were really charming. I never did, however, get to the place reached by a pianist who toured America a little while after I did, and who always waved to them. This the gallant virtuoso did with his right hand, while his left hand went rippling over the keyboard of the instrument (consecrated style). What charms will do!

At his concerts he wore trousers with great stripes like those on mattress ticking, and when bouquets were thrown to him he always gathered them up and offered them to the most beautiful of his feminine listeners. Often he stopped in the middle of what he was playing in order to deliver a speech, after which he returned to the piano, throwing devastating glances at the ladies. I mention this, not as criticism of my most honorable colleague, but only because it is characteristic. No one found this conduct unbecoming, and the ladies were charmed by the dignified manners and bearing of this artist who was, indeed, so very commendable from every point of view.

After the Catholic cathedral of Baltimore I must mention the Unitarian church, which without question is a most beautiful edifice. The *city of monuments* also counts among its attractions in stone, marble, and brick the Battle Monument, the Armistead Monument, the City Hall, the State Prison, the Court House, and the chapel of the Catholic college, a true jewel, admirably situated for the recollection or creation of saintly thoughts.

Beginning with my first concert in Baltimore I was condemned by Ulmann [7] to improvising, and what I little liked at first finally became very amusing to me. My secretary had announced that all themes which listeners wanted to offer for improvisation were to be presented to the management on the way into the hall. Fifty or sixty themes were left with the manager the first evening. Among these themes were several well-known melodies and a certain number of airs taken from the discordant repertory of the redskins. Here is how I proceeded on this occasion, as well as during later concerts: When the moment came to begin the improvising, I appeared on the platform with all the manuscripts, which I then ran through to present to the audience. The crowd was given an opportunity to approve or reject them by majority vote. This occasioned a great tumult in the hall, for the air which pleased some displeased others, and often it was very difficult for me to decide what the majority of listeners favored. When five or six themes had been chosen by this method, I combined them into a fantasy, as the spirit moved me.

If I had done my judging in the terms of the success resulting from it, then I should have been most happy about this musical nonsense, for it gave me great prestige and notoriety with the American public of that

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[7] Bernard Ulmann was a well known impresario who managed Herz' American concert tour.

epoch. But the most unusual part of this improvising came from several of my listeners who did not know how to write music, and not wishing to lose their right of presenting themes, whistled them, asking me to write them down myself. The music lover of this type, after the audience quieted down, always stood gravely up on his seat and whistled as well as he could, while I, pencil in hand, quickly wrote down what was usually a baroque air of a vague and mysterious sort. Sometimes it was necessary to have the whistler repeat himself four times before I could get the phrases and the measure. The audience waited patiently while this work was being done, and applauded us, the whistler and myself, when at last I had the whole theme written down. Never once did I laugh over my part in this childish musical play, much as I was tempted to do so. Everyone was serious, but the most serious of all of us was Ulmann when he counted the receipts after each concert and always said to me, with justifiable pride:

"Was I right in getting you to improvise? . . ." [8]

It was in Baltimore that I had the rare distinction of being introduced to a club which certainly was more curious than delicate. I wish to speak of the club of —— spitters. To spit is an ever recurrent need in certain parts of the Union; it is a habit, a characteristic, and for some, an act of skill. I have seen the members of the spitters' club in all their glory. They were seated around a fireplace, the opening of which was covered with a sheet of iron pierced by a half dozen holes the size of a small coin. It was toward these holes that the virtuosos directed their projectiles, with a grace and facility one could not praise too much, remembering that they could have missed their aim.

[8] Several discursive passages follow. They include commentary on musical taste, the music trade, and the manufacture of pianos in the United States.

REMINISCENCES OF JUDGE RICHARD HENRY ALVEY

By Alexander Armstrong [1]

ON November 14, 1906, a public meeting was held by the Bar Association of Washington in the Washington City Court House in memory of Richard Henry Alvey, the first Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, who had died on September 14 at his home in Hagerstown. At that gathering one of the most eloquent speakers said that second only to Chief Justice Marshall "come those very great judges—Shaw of Massachusetts, Gibson of Pennsylvania, Miller of Iowa and Alvey of Maryland." In the course of his remarks Mr. Henry E. Davis gave credit to Maryland for the production of this remarkable jurist in the following language: "Had Judge Alvey been born elsewhere than in Maryland, had he been reared otherwise than under and in the midst of Maryland laws and Maryland institutions, in other words, had he been other than a Marylander 'bred in the bone,' he would not have been Alvey." He followed this statement with an analysis of the conditions peculiar to Maryland which have enabled this state, despite its small size and limited population, to contribute so uniquely and so brilliantly to the bench and bar of the nation.

Only little more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the labors of Judge Alvey were concluded, and he found his last resting place in beautiful Rose Hill Cemetery of Hagerstown on a slight eminence commanding a view of the mountains he loved so well. Yet, notwithstanding the superb service which Judge Alvey rendered to Maryland as an Associate Judge of its Court of Appeals from 1867 to 1883 and as the Chief Judge of that

[1] Mr. Armstrong (1877-1939), Attorney-General of Maryland, 1919-1923, delivered this paper before the Lawyers' Round Table at Baltimore at the Maryland Club on February 3, 1934. It was edited and prepared for publication through the courtesy of the Honorable Emory H. Niles, Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore.

court from 1883 to 1893, there has already arisen a new generation of Marylanders to whom even the name of Alvey has no familiar sound.

No biography of Judge Alvey has ever been attempted. Perhaps the day may come when some legal scholar will investigate his opinions, of which about three thousand are said to have been written, from a critical and analytical standpoint and, as a result of comparative studies, establish for him a definite place in the development of American jurisprudence. The records for such a praiseworthy undertaking will at all times be available. Time cannot and will not obliterate them.

It is not from this standpoint that I wish to discuss Judge Alvey's career. While recalling some of its landmarks and summarizing perhaps some of its achievements, I wish rather, before it is too late to do so, to record certain intimate glimpses of the man himself and to picture also the setting in which his home was established and maintained, his family was reared and a vast portion of his own remarkable work was performed. Only a few persons still survive who knew him intimately and enjoyed the opportunity of penetrating the veil of judicial aloofness which seemed constantly to envelop him and withdraw him from the ordinary activities of men. From them, and more particularly from his daughter, Mrs. Glenn H. Worthington,[2] has been gathered much of the material used in the preparation of this modest paper.

Judge Alvey was born March 6, 1826, in St. Mary's County to parents of English descent whose forebears had come to Maryland in the *Ark* and the *Dove* and whose families during the two succeeding centuries had consistently occupied positions of responsibility and distinction in that portion of the state. They were people, however, of limited means. Young Alvey received his early education in a school taught by his own father and later at Charlotte Hall Academy, whose old buildings were recently burned.[3] At the age of eighteen he left St. Mary's County never to return. While acting as Deputy Clerk in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court for Charles County, he studied law, prin-

[2] Mrs. Julia Alvey Worthington, wife of the Honorable Glenn H. Worthington (1858-1934), Chief Judge of the Sixth Maryland Judicial Circuit, died July 30, 1951.

[3] The old main building of the Academy burned in February, 1896. A new building was constructed shortly afterwards.

cipally at night in the office of Walter Mitchell, great-grandfather of the present president of the Maryland Senate, and in 1849, upon the motion of Robert J. Brent, then Attorney General of the State, who had become deeply interested in him, was admitted to practice in Charles County. He soon decided to look for a broader field as the scene of his future activities and a year later moved to Hagerstown. I often wondered why he selected Washington County as his new home. The Judge himself furnished the answer. After abandoning his first idea of emigrating to the West and acting upon the advice of his two friends, Messrs. Mitchell and Brent, he decided to investigate Western Maryland. He first spent several days in Cumberland but stated years later that he did not like the rough and tumble practice in which the legal profession engaged there. He determined to turn his attention to Hagerstown and then, using his own language, " I came, I saw and was conquered." I have no doubt that Mr. Brent played an influential part in the making of this fateful decision, as the Brent family were descendants of old Jonathan Hager, the founder of the town, and later became the owners of the proprietary ground rents. Mr. Brent was probably very familiar with that entire community and knew of the promising conditions then prevailing there.

Judge Alvey's legal training had been exceedingly meager. He therefore prescribed for himself a definite course of systematic study which he vigorously pursued for over three years while attending at the same time to such practice as came to him. This work, self-imposed, and most conscientiously discharged, laid the foundation of that wealth of legal learning for which Judge Alvey subsequently became famous.

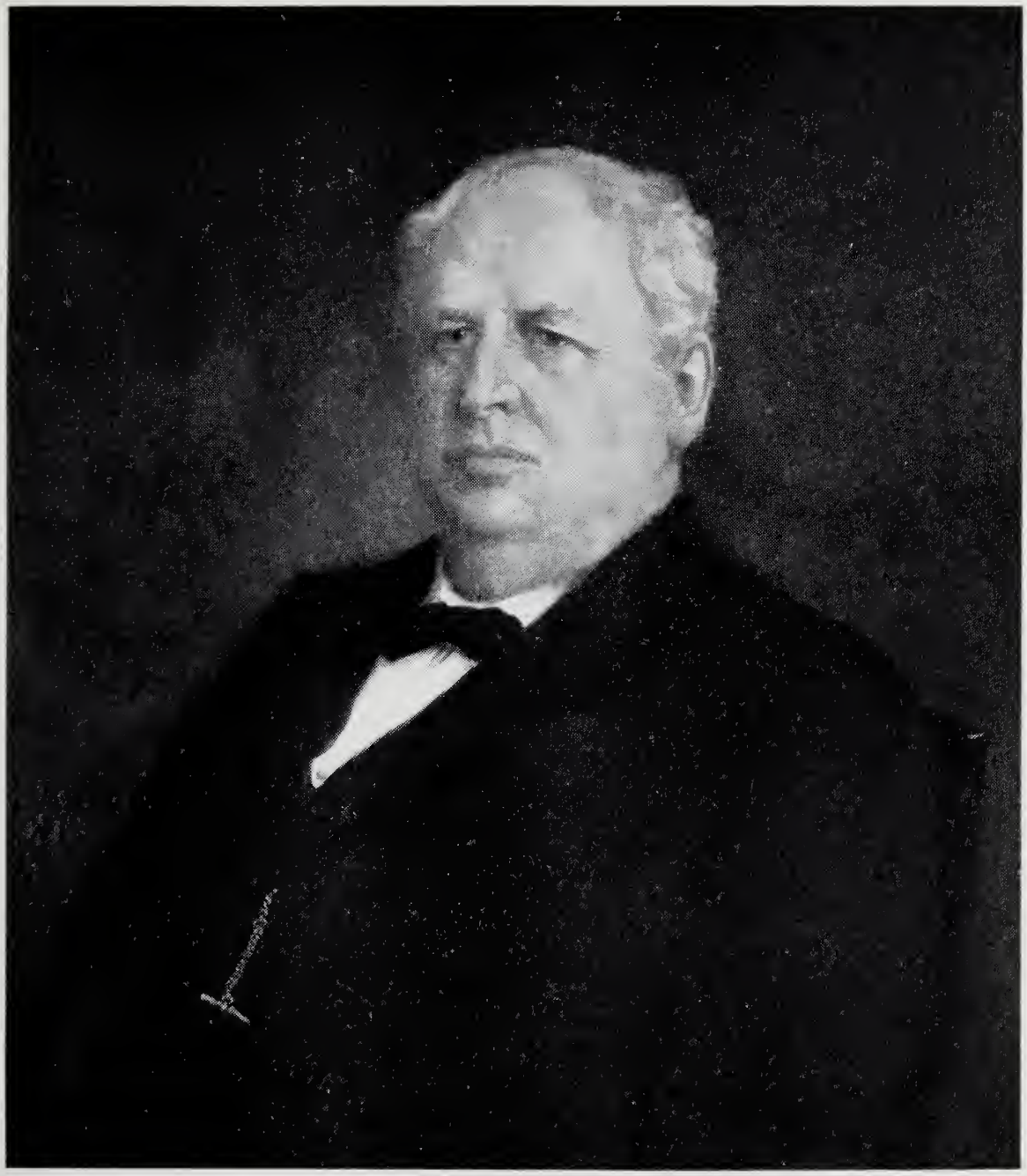
In developing a store of legal knowledge it is necessary, first, to learn exhaustively and then to remember accurately. Judge Alvey's memory was the marvel of all who knew him. Let me illustrate from a personal experience. In the summer of 1905, when I had been a member of the Bar for about eighteen months and City Attorney of Hagerstown for about a year, a great contention arose over the refusal of the City Council to confirm the Mayor's nominee for re-appointment as City Tax Collector. I was instructed to prepare an opinion on the right of this official to hold over for another year without confirmation and to present this paper three nights later. At the end of the second day the draft was

completed, but as the whole town was agog over the matter and great bitterness had developed, I felt the need of someone with whom I could confer. My own father was ill, and suddenly it occurred to me that possibly I might talk to Judge Alvey who had then retired. He received me most graciously, leaned back in his big chair, folded his hands over his capacious stomach and said, "Now, Alex, read to me what you have written." When I had finished, his comment was: "Why, that opinion is perfectly sound, what was it that caused you to worry?" I told him that there were sentences in the closing portion of the opinion in a certain Maryland case, naming it, which I could not reconcile with my conclusions. Then he smiled as he said, "Oh, I remember. Robinson wrote that opinion and he did use rather extreme language in portions of it, but in our conference we discussed the situation fully and as the opinion was all written and ready to be filed we thought it would do no harm, and so approved it. Don't let it trouble you." Judge Robinson had written that opinion just twenty-three years before.

In politics Judge Alvey was a staunch Democrat. He had come from a strong Whig family, but his convictions on all subjects never sprang from the prejudices of environment or the influences of tradition, but on the contrary were the result of his own personal investigations and analyses. The writings of Professor Tucker, which included a *Life of Jefferson* and were everywhere permeated by the principles of that great leader, powerfully affected young Alvey in his formative years and had much to do with his complete conversion to Democracy. One year after his arrival in Hagerstown he had the temerity to accept the Democratic nomination for State Senator against Judge French, an eloquent and well-known member of the opposing party. They toured the county together, making many speeches, and, to the surprise of all, the election resulted in a tie. In the special election that followed, Judge French was victorious by a majority of forty votes. This final outcome was a fortunate event for the people of Maryland, as it caused the brilliant young lawyer to forswear politics and to devote himself exclusively to his profession, except only when he was nominated as a presidential elector on the Pierce ticket in 1852. Contrary to the practice now prevailing, he took an active interest in the campaign, making speeches in every portion of the state, and was of course elected.

Another event gave him publicity throughout the entire state. After the election of Lincoln a great mass meeting was held in Hagerstown for the purpose of expressing formally the sentiment of the county on the question of secession. Mr. Alvey, then thirty-five years of age, was made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions and brought in a minority report in which were proclaimed views believed by him to show proper loyalty to the Federal Government while denouncing the invasion of one state by hostile troops from other states. This report became famous as the Alvey Resolution and represented the political ideas of a great mass, perhaps a majority, of his fellow Marylanders. His frankly acknowledged opposition to the war made him a marked man, and as soon as a Union army reached Hagerstown on June 20, 1861, he was arrested at night by a military squad upon the unfounded charge of holding communication with the enemy and was thereafter confined, until February, 1862, in Fort McHenry, Fort Lafayette in New York and Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. One of his fellow prisoners at Fort Warren was Severn Teackle Wallis, destined to become one of his warm, life-long friends and one of the greatest of the many brilliant advocates who appeared before the Court, of which the then imprisoned Alvey was soon to become a member.

During the war Hagerstown was, of course, constantly on the firing line. The battle of Antietam was fought only twelve miles away in 1862. The following summer Lee's entire army, reorganized, well equipped and in high spirits, passed through the town on its way to Gettysburg, returning by the same route after its defeat. In 1864 McCausland spared the town upon the payment of a ransom of $30,000, but burned Chambersburg, only twenty-two miles away, because of its failure to comply with his demand for $200,000. Naturally passions ran high, bitter personal and family feuds were engendered, and it was difficult to remain unaffected by the conflicting tides of prejudice. Judge Alvey never permitted his own judgment to be warped by these factional differences, and it should be noted here that after the close of the war he was foremost in the movement which sought to return the privilege of franchise to all who had been deprived of it for various reasons connected with that great conflict. He was also the author of a reform measure which abolished the old and often fraudulently administered system of having juries



JUDGE RICHARD HENRY ALVEY

Photograph of the painting in the
Maryland Court of Appeals Building, Annapolis

Photo by M. E. Warren

selected by the sheriff and conferred that duty exclusively upon the courts. First adopted for Washington, Frederick and Carroll Counties, the new law soon became universal throughout the state.

In 1867, at the age of forty-one, Judge Alvey was elected the first chief judge of the Fourth Judicial Circuit under the new Constitution and delivered the first recorded decision of the new Court of Appeals on December 17, 1867, in the case of "Robert J. Jump, Comptroller of the Treasury, vs. Thomas A. Spence," 28 Md. 2. Three days later his first dissent was registered. In 1882 he was re-elected and on November 13, 1883, was appointed by Governor Hamilton to succeed Judge Bartol as Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals.[4] Judge Alvey had been at one time a law partner of Governor Hamilton,[5] but it was not strange that two men of such strong convictions on every subject should find it necessary to sever their professional connection. Whether a personal enmity developed, I do not know. His daughter tells me that they always remained great friends. One writer states that Judge Alvey's advancement by Governor Hamilton was made "in response to a public demand which the reluctant executive could not dismiss." Governor Hamilton's son confirms the existence of the feeling which this statement indicates, but says that when his father was criticized by a political friend for this recognition of Judge Alvey, he replied: "I did not appoint an enemy. I appointed brains."

It is interesting to note here that although the Fourth Circuit has always been overwhelmingly Republican, its Chief Judge was continuously a Democrat from 1867 until the election of Judge Sloan in 1926.

There are very few now surviving who can recall the days when Judge Alvey sat at *nisi prius* in Hagerstown and the other county seats of his Circuit. It is universally conceded, however, that his presence on the Bench was magnificent. One gentleman said to me, "His superb head and his large body made me feel as I watched him on the Bench that he must be almost seven feet tall, and I was greatly surprised and disappointed when I saw him later in the Court House corridor to discover that the shortness of his legs made him a man of only average height." His searching eye and his complete preparedness to deal with every situa-

[4] James Lawrence Bartol (1813-1887).
[5] William Thomas Hamilton (1820-1888) Governor of Maryland, 1880-1884.

tion, without the slightest hesitation or effort, made him the absolute master of his court room. With a mere glance, he would quell the slightest disturbance. Woodrow Wilson, while lecturing to classes of from 500 to 600 students at Princeton, possessed the same power. Judge Alvey opened Court every morning at 9:30 o'clock, suspended for a half hour recess at 12:30 and adjourned finally and always promptly for the day at 3 o'clock without the slightest deviation, and during the sessions was never known to leave the Bench at any time for any reason whatsoever. He was patient and attentive during trials and arguments, but never permitted any unnecessary waste of time. In his early days at the Bar, he was said to have been very irascible and once flung a law book at the opposing counsel's head, but after going to Annapolis and by emulating the suave poise of Chief Justice Bartol, whom he greatly admired, he soon acquired a judicial pose of the highest quality.

On one occasion he sentenced a man to the penitentiary on an embezzlement charge for a term of two years. The prisoner's comment openly expressed was, " Huh, I could stand on my head for that length of time." The expression on Judge Alvey's face never changed. He merely said: " Mr. Clark, make the sentence five years." A son of Governor Hamilton told me of his first experience in Court after his admission to the Bar. " One day," he said, " a man was foolish enough to become my client. The case involved damage by trespassing cattle. I had carefully prepared my argument, but as I sat there, listening to my opponent and looking at the Court, Judge Alvey's head seemed to grow larger and larger, his eyes brighter and brighter, and when my turn finally came, all I could do was arise and say, ' Judge, you already know far more about this case than I'll ever know. Just go ahead and decide it.' "

In the spring of 1893, President Cleveland named Judge Alvey as the first Chief Justice of the newly created Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. The appointment offered Judge Alvey a broader field of service, permanency of tenure of office and a salary increase from $3,500 to $7,500 per year. He accepted and on April 20, 1893, a meeting was held in his honor in the Court of Appeals Chamber in Annapolis, attended by members of the Bar from all parts of the state.

Judge Alvey retired from his last important office, which he

had greatly adorned, on December 30, 1904, because of failing health. He was then almost seventy-nine years of age. On this occasion also there was a farewell meeting of the Bar and as an emblem of their high esteem and affection, he was presented by the Bar of Washington with a silver service of five pieces upon a mahogany inlaid tray, now owned, in accordance with his wishes, by his daughter, Mrs. Worthington. During the eleven years of his life in Washington, he served, upon appointment by President Cleveland, as a member of the Venezuela Boundary Commission, lectured in the law school and acted as Chancellor of the National University of Washington.

Judge Alvey's name was frequently mentioned in connection with the Supreme Court of the United States. Just why he failed of appointment to that body will probably never be known to a certainty. The story was current in my younger days that it was due to the hostility of Senator Gorman. Mr. Gorman had been President of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company. The petition for the appointment of a receiver of that corporation was filed in the Circuit Court for Washington County and was bitterly contested, many of the State's most brilliant lawyers participating in the trial. Judge Alvey decided for the plaintiffs and established the receivership, some form of which exists even today, thereby incurring the deep enmity of Senator Gorman. We always understood that Mr. Gorman notified President Cleveland that if Judge Alvey were nominated for a place on the Supreme Court, he would prevent his confirmation. Judge Alvey himself has furnished another explanation and probably the true one. He said that Maryland's Senator, E. K. Wilson, suggested Judge Alvey's name to the President as a possible successor to Chief Justice Waite, but the President, although a great admirer of Judge Alvey, as subsequent events demonstrated, replied that he was afraid that the country was not yet prepared to have a southerner made the Chief Justice of its highest court, and so Melville W. Fuller of Chicago was selected for the honor. On a later occasion, when another vacancy occurred in the Supreme Court, a telegram arrived in Hagerstown asking Judge Alvey to wire the date of his birth. I do not know what the age limitation then was, but the true date made Judge Alvey too old by a single month. He was urged to shift the time sufficiently to cover this

defect, but he replied: " I will not tell a lie even for a place on the Supreme Bench."

Despite the fact that for a period of over thirty-seven years Judge Alvey sat in courts located either in Annapolis or Washington, he never failed to return to his home in Hagerstown every Friday evening and to remain there until the following Monday morning. There his family life and family ties were always centered.

At the time of my earliest recollection, Hagerstown was a thriving little city of about eight to ten thousand inhabitants. Isolated by the mountains which raise themselves on the east and west, its people held little social or commercial intercourse with the rest of Maryland, finding it easier to deal with their Pennsylvania and Virginia neighbors who dwelt in the same valley, and were then served very efficiently by the old Cumberland Valley Railroad. Some of Hagerstown's main thoroughfares had been macadamized according to the old fashioned methods, but others were filled with mud in the winter and dust in the summer. The lamplighter still made his daily rounds and every now and then there would be presented in the old Academy a minstrel show, "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," or " Uncle Tom's Cabin." A return trip to Frederick by train required a whole day. A few of the ladies made semi-annual shopping trips to Baltimore, but most of them found it easier and cheaper to do their buying at home. The people, however, were happy, satisfied with their own simple manner of living and sufficiently influenced by the spirit of the South to extend always a kindly hospitality toward one another, as well as to the stranger who came within their gates.

I can illustrate our provincialism by a well-remembered incident of my early childhood. One summer Colonel Buchanan Schley and my uncle, Mr. William H. Armstrong, did an unprecedented thing by making a trip to Europe. When it was learned that they would return to Hagerstown on a certain evening a splendid reception was planned. The incoming train was met at the station by a great concourse of people and a parade was immediately formed which proceeded slowly along Washington and Prospect Streets to the home of Colonel Schley, which immediately adjoined that of my father. It was led by a band, and as both of the travelers were prominent members of local volunteer fire companies, the firemen participated in full regalia. Other

organizations were also represented in uniform, while the returning heroes rode in an open barouche drawn by two white horses. When the home of the Colonel was reached a huge circle was formed and, with torches burning brightly on all sides, there was first an address of welcome delivered by one of the city officials, and then each of the honored guests made a fitting speech in reply. These speeches must have compared Hagerstown rather favorably with London and Paris, judging from the applause and enthusiasm with which they were received. After three rousing cheers had been given for Colonel Schley and my uncle, the parade marched away again with the band playing, alternately, " The Star Spangled Banner " and " Home Sweet Home."

In politics, however, our people were enthusiastic Marylanders, participating in every election and watching with critical eye the two men, who more than any others, linked us with the activities of the outside world, Governor William T. Hamilton and Judge Alvey. Indeed, it was a unique distinction for Hagerstown to possess at the same time the Governor of the State and the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. They were our commanding figures—similar in many respects—both ardent Democrats, both self-made, vigorous-minded and possessing rare moral courage. The Governor, though an excellent lawyer and frequently appearing before the Court of Appeals, was essentially a man of the people and constantly associated with them on the streets of the town in every municipal enterprise and throughout the entire county, greeting all in his own rather rough but exceedingly hearty manner. Judge Alvey, on the contrary, gradually withdrew himself from outside activities and dedicated himself to the life of a student amidst the seclusion of his books. Both of these men were close friends of my father and were deeply admired by him.

Judge Alvey never left town on a vacation. Even in the summer when the courts had adjourned and the heat had become oppressive, the lights in his office were frequently burning. He often sat, however, with his wife on his own front porch and there seemed to enjoy thoroughly visits from his neighbors and friends who brought to him the local news and gossip, in which, up to the time of his death, he always exhibited the keenest interest. Although he never accepted a social invitation, and for over twenty years never even walked downtown except through an alley to take the Baltimore and Ohio train for Annapolis or

Washington and on one occasion to preside over a McKinley Memorial Meeting, neverthless, through the newspapers which he read assiduously and through these friendly conversations, he kept himself familiar with every detail of the community life. When the lawyers called at his office to present papers for his consideration while he was still a Maryland judge, he always greeted them cordially, attended first to their business and then invariably smiled and inquired: "Well, what's the news downtown today?" And unless he got some news he seemed to be disappointed.

He was very fond of my father, who, until his own sons were admitted to the Bar, acted as his solicitor in connection with the making of his investments and looking after his local personal affairs. According to his daughter, he would frequently say, when he returned to Hagerstown for the week ends: "I wish Alex Armstrong would drop in. He always entertains me by telling me what's going on." I think my father must have made a mental note of events and amusing incidents as they occurred, so that he could satisfy this desire of the Judge for full information about home affairs.

Living in the three blocks of Hagerstown sometimes satirically referred to as "Quality Hill" were about sixty or seventy children, divided, of course, according to age, into many sets or groups. As Judge and Mrs. Alvey had ten children of their own, almost every set included an Alvey. In the interchange of visits in which youngsters instinctively delight, all of us had occasion to go frequently to the Alvey home, where we were made to feel very welcome. But we soon learned that these calls were most opportunely made when the Judge was discharging his official duties elsewhere. When the Judge returned, we knew without being told that it was then better for the Alvey children to visit us. I think I should make some mention of Mrs. Alvey, who was a dark-haired, dark-eyed lady, rather large but never stout, and who impressed us, as children, as being very stern and serious-minded and as one who seldom smiled. She was a splendid woman of culture and dignity, and admirable mother and a most devoted wife, and those of us who knew her in later years developed the highest regard and affection for her. She understood her husband's difficulties in working at home among so many children and humored and shielded him in every pos-

sible way. Her daughters have told me that never on a single occasion did they witness the slightest unpleasantness between their parents.

It was the Judge, however, who absolutely dominated his own household and so intense was his concentration on his work that, when engaged in the preparation of an opinion, he permitted nothing whatever to disturb his absorption. He would retire to his study and begin his preliminary investigation of the authorities. When a meal was announced, he would repair to the dining room, where profound silence was preserved until the Judge returned to his work. If he needed fresh air, he would walk, bareheaded, up and down a little porch in front of his office, usually with his hands behind him, and if he grew weary, he would lie down on an old couch in his office and go to sleep. As soon as he awoke, regardless of the hour, he would resume his labor. He never undressed and went to bed during such a period of concentration. This process of alternating meals, naps, walks and work was continued until the opinion was completed; then and then only did he resume normal modes of living.

With a single exception, to which I shall refer in a moment, he never enjoyed the assistance of a secretary. He never used a lead pencil. "All his opinions were autographic and written in the neatest chirography and with the slightest bearing on the pen, as though he wanted to be gentle and level and calm even with the instrumentalities he involved in the transfer of his thoughts to paper." His desk was always covered with a mass of papers and they in turn with a coating of dust, but as he himself always knew exactly where everything was located, he violently opposed any intrusion in the interest of cleanliness and the invasions of the dusting maid were always made with great caution and during the Judge's absence.

Judge Alvey's oldest daughter, Julia, inherited many of her father's mental qualities and also his aversion to disciplinary restraints. After one year at board school, at the age of seventeen, she prevailed upon her father to permit her to remain at home and study under his supervision. He assigned the courses of her reading and at regular intervals examined his pupil. The arrangement proved to be a great success and the daughter, now Mrs. Glenn H. Worthington of Frederick, feels certain that she learned more in one year under her father's tutelage than she could pos-

sibly have learned in any three years at school. At the same time she acted as her father's secretary, taking down in abbreviated longhand much of his dictation and making the final draft of many of his opinions. She tells me that her father had a most amazing fund of general information, and that there was scarcely any subject which he could not discuss with readiness and thoroughness. He was a constant reader of history and the classics, one of his favorite works being Froissart's chronicles of mediaeval history. Mrs. Worthington told me that on one occasion, when some family decision had to be made, Mrs. Alvey said to her, rather despairingly: "Julia, if you can only detach your father from his beloved *Chronicles*, perhaps we can get this matter settled." After his daughter had selected, as a husband, a gentleman who was also to sit in the Court of Appeals and to serve for fifteen years as an Associate Judge for the Third Circuit, Judge Alvey wrote to her in Frederick and told her that he missed her terribly.

We boys felt that Judge Alvey was a very severe father. We knew that he kept in his office a leather whip, which he applied vigorously to any of his sons who disobeyed his injunctions or committed any offence which he felt called for punishment. On one occasion two of his boys, Fred and Charlie, desired to go to a circus but for some reason permission was refused. Feeling deeply aggrieved, they filled their pockets with gravel which they caused to pass lightly and at frequent intervals through the open window upon the Judge's desk and perhaps also upon his massive expanse of bald head. The Judge apparently took no notice of these disrespectful attentions, but when his work had finally been completed, he instructed old Aunt Emily, the colored cook, reported to be the only member of the house of whom he stood in awe, to round up the culprits for him and thereupon he personally administered to each a flogging which it took them a long time to forget.

In spite of the Judge's flashes of anger and his displays of irritability, his daughter states that the chastisements of her brothers were usually deserved and were applied to them in the firm belief that it was needed to train them properly and that the Judge was really a wonderful father, solicitous at all times concerning the welfare of his children, interested in the things which for the time being interested them and endeavored, as far as his means

permitted, to give to all of them proper educational and social advantages.

Practically all of Judge Alvey's opinions were prepared in his own office. He constantly purchased new legal works as they became available and after his death Mr. Curlander stated that he had the finest private law library in the State of Maryland.[6] My younger brother's outstanding recollection of the Judge is that he was always reading the dictionary. It is true that he was constantly consulting that work, in his search for synonyms and finer shades of meaning.

When Judge Alvey took a position with reference to any matter, he seldom relinquished it. The following is an illustration of this quality. The second block of Prospect Street rose gradually from one end toward its highest point at which Judge Alvey's residence was located and then sloped toward the other corner. The City Fathers determined to cut off this crest, so that throughout the block the street would slope gradually from one corner to the other. Despite the Judge's intense opposition, the improvement, for such it really was, was carried out. All of the other property owners removed their fences and regraded and terraced the yards in front of their homes. Judge Alvey's house was closer to the street than any of the others and perhaps he had some justification for the course he pursued, but he alone, among all the residents of the street, constructed in front of his home a wall of highly-dressed native rock surmounted by an iron grill. Nowadays when visitors inquire why this wall was permitted to obstruct the otherwise unbroken stretch of lawn, we can only say that it represents the dissenting opinion of a celebrated jurist expressed in stone.

Judge Alvey was a large, full-blooded man and was exceedingly fond both of good food and good liquor. He frequently, after the English fashion, had two meats for dinner. A friend who dined with him one evening noticed that, although he partook heartily both of veal and ham stuffed in some way with spinach and also of other vegetables and a heavy dessert, he was able, within ten minutes after the close of his meal, to return to his office and resume his work without the slightest manifesta-

[6] Edward H. Curlander, a book dealer who has specialized in law books. Mr. Curlander purchased Judge Alvey's library and he has recently confirmed that this was one of the finest private libraries he ever purchased.—*Editor.*

tion of drowsiness. Food supplies, such as hams and flour, were always kept in the house in substantial quantities. Large orders of crabs from Southern Maryland were filled each year. Whiskey was purchased by the barrel and mint juleps were served as soon as the mint appeared in the spring and until the frost killed it in the fall. The Judge had a favorite concoction which he drank every Sunday exactly at noon, and the story is that, regardless of the demands of church services, one of the lady members of the family had to be home in time to mix that particular drink so that it would be ready when the clock struck twelve and the Judge, in an expectant mood, passed from his office to the dining room.

Among the outstanding social events of the year were Judge Alvey's receptions on Christmas and New Year's Day. No one was invited, but everyone was expected to attend. The Judge himself presided behind a table bearing a bowl of cold punch and the ingredients essential to the mixing of hot whiskey punch. His position enabled him to look down the hall and see all his callers as they entered the front door. The guests proceeded at once to the dining room, were greeted personally and cordially by the Judge who never left his chair and were then invited at once to partake of the liquid refreshments. If hot punch was desired, the Judge himself brewed it. In every case the Judge drank with each new guest or group of guests from eleven in the morning until about three in the afternoon, but neither on these occasions nor at any other time could anyone perceive that the liquor which he consumed had the slightest effect, except perhaps to bring a flush to his cheeks or to intensify the twinkle in his eyes.

Some mention has been made of the return of the Judge's daughters from church to prepare his Sunday drink for him. The Judge himself never attended church, but he cherished the deepest respect for all things religious. He himself was born a Catholic and remained one throughout his life, although he never insisted upon his children being brought up in that faith. He believed that such a decision should be made by each individual for himself. As a result all four of his daughters and several of his sons followed their mother into the Episcopal Church, while several of his sons became rather ardent Catholics. Frank, his second son, was at one time the head of the Knights of Columbus of Texas. The Judge always enjoyed the visits of Father Jones, one of the

resident priests of Hagerstown for many years, and was also a warm friend of Cardinal Gibbons.

As is frequently the case with strong, aggressive personalities, Judge Alvey was most expert in the gentle art of swearing and indulged this talent on so many occasions that as the years passed his proficiency increased rather than diminished. His daughter told me this amusing story. For a number of years a regular member of the houshold was the Judge's mother-in-law, Mrs. Hays, who having trouble in one eye, always carried a lorgnette with a single lens. One night the daughter in question accidently set fire to the mosquito netting over her bed and cried loudly for help. The Judge came promptly to the rescue. "Now," as the daughter expressed it, "you know my father always wore nightshirts, very much abbreviated, but he was a very modest man and when he heard the familiar steps of Mrs. Hays approaching, he hastily concealed himself behind a curtain." The old lady arrived carrying her lorgnette and remained to indulge, as usual, in prolonged conversation. The patience of the jurist, tried so often on the bench, soon became exhausted and suddenly from behind the curtain came this outburst: "G—— damn it to h——, can't a man walk around in his own house, in his own nightshirt, without being followed by his mother-in-law carrying a spy-glass?"

It is said that fools jump in where angels fear to tread. Certainly a dog once ventured to do what no mere man would ever have attempted. One morning in the old days when the Judge was just about completing his walk to the Court House and had reached the Court House pavement, this ill-advised cur selected the Judge as the object of his attention and from behind and without warning launched an attack against the calf of one of his robust legs. Many people were standing about. It was a critical situation, but the Judge promptly rallied, kicked his assailant into the gutter and then proceeded with great dignity into the Clerk's office. There among his intimates the flood gates of his profanity were opened and his outraged feelings found expression in one of the most scathing and eloquent denunciations ever administered to one poor dog. It has been suggested that if all the language used on this occasion could have been preserved, this dog would have ranked with Goldsmith's mad dog and other canines famous in literature. The Judge who was without his

glasses, looked back, discovered that his trousers were torn and seeing something red determined that blood had saturated his clothing. His fury redoubled and only was relieved when it was explained to him that the red which distressed him was merely the color of the flannel drawers which he habitually wore.

I feel that just one more dog story of a very different type should be mentioned. "Jack" Alvey—commingling collie and shepherd blood—though a mere dog was as well known to us as any other member of the Alvey family. He was a very religious animal and every time the Episcopal Church bell rang, he proceeded solemnly to the church about half a block away, went up the center aisle to the Alvey pew, found a place for himself and remained until the service had been concluded. But the great passion of his life was the Judge. Jack spent many hours lying quietly in the Judge's study, or, when excluded, just outside the study door. Every Monday morning, he followed the Judge to the Baltimore and Ohio Station and—here's the remarkable part of the story—every Friday evening when the Judge returned, Jack was on the station platform to welcome him home. He was never seen around the depot on any other evening.

One of the happiest experiences in Judge Alvey's life, I am sure, came to him in 1902 when Princeton University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He and his wife attended all of the commencement exercises. Finally, on commencement morning, when in silken gown he was presented for his degree, although his associates included Nicholas Murray Butler and other national figures, his bearing was so full of modest, unassuming dignity and his personal presence so genuinely magnificent that he was easily the dominating figure of that brilliant company and won for himself a perfect ovation of tumultous applause. The incident brought a thrill of pride to every Marylander in the vast audience, who knew how worthily that honor had been conferred.

During those final days of reflection and well earned repose which Judge Alvey spent in Hagerstown, he found much joy in the cultivation of flowers and with his usual thoroughness soon made himself familiar with botanical phraseology. He caused large beds to be dug out and filled with richer earth and while specializing in hyacinths, roses and phlox, developed a garden rich in the variety of its plants and the rareness of its beauty.

Some one once said of him, " When doubts on all public questions arose, the inquiry was made ' What does Judge Alvey say? ' And what Judge Alvey said had the conclusive authority of an oracle." After his retirement, he occasionally made interesting observations on public problems. He had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1867 and Chairman of its Committee on Representation. In 1905 he expressed himself as being much opposed to the adoption of a new Constitution in 1907. He stated, however, that he did not believe that the needs of Baltimore City were met by the existing judiciary requirements of the Constitution, or that the Orphans' Court system, established by the Constitution of '67, had come up to expectations, but that necessary changes should be made by amendment.

Then came a day when judges and lawyers gathered from far and wide and every business house in Hagerstown was closed to pay a last tribute to Hagerstown's greatest citizen. The death of Judge Alvey brought to a close a golden era in the life of Hagerstown.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT IN ST. MARY'S COUNTY IN THE WAR OF 1812

By Arthur Hecht

AN examination was made of the records of the United States Post Office Department, now in the custody of the National Archives, for information about its operations during the War of 1812 in St. Mary's County. This has brought to light twenty letters, a circular sent to the Secretaries of State, War and Navy, the names of three special agents,[1] and the identification of seventeen deputy postmasters who hitherto have not been mentioned in the publications and articles relating to the War of 1812 in Maryland. The correspondence shows that the General Post Office [2] recognized its responsibility of establishing faster and more frequent mail transportation to and from Southern Maryland. This area was the headquarters of special agents of the Postmaster General who submitted to the City of Washington continual reports about the invading British so that preparations could be made in the capital against surprise attacks.

In March, 1813, a British naval force under Admiral Sir George Cockburn moved from Lynnhaven, Virginia, up the Chesapeake Bay to blockade ports and harass the countryside.[3] The squadron divided at Point Lookout and reconnaissance detachments sailed

[1] Known as surveyors until designated by Postmaster General Joseph Habersham as special agents in 1801. During the War of 1812 they were actively employed in the defense of the capital.

[2] The Post Office Department was originally known as the General Post Office and was subordinate to the Treasury Department. As the office developed and grew in importance, it assumed the privileges and autonomy of a ranking administrative department and it was seldom challenged. The Postmaster General became a member of the cabinet in 1829, but it was not until June 8, 1872, that the office became known officially as the Post Office Department.

[3] William M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815* (Baltimore, 1913), Chaps. I. III, and Benson John Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1869), pp. 668-689.

up the Potomac River. Artillery was landed at Point Lookout, and during April more than 2,000 enemy troops took possession of the six-mile area from the tip of St. Mary's County to Ridge.[4] The areas along the shores of the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers suffered great depredations by marauding British parties who captured vessels, burned houses, and robbed the people of St. Mary's County of their personal property. Four farmers named Benjamin Williams, Mordecai Jones, James Biscoe, and R. Armstrong were captured.[5] Many of the 6,000 slaves in the county escaped during the British forays.

After an unsuccessful excursion to the Cliffs of Nomini on the Virginia shores, the British approached the land along Mattoax Creek where they were driven off by Captain John R. Hungerford of the First Regiment with his light infantry company. For several days the enemy held possession of the islands of St. George and Blakistone. During the month of May British vessels sailed to the mouth of St. Mary's River and at St. Mary's Creek thirty barges of the enemy went ashore. Some of these proceeded up Smith Creek and continued their attacks against the inhabitants.

From the time the British landed the inhabitants of the eastern half of St. Mary's County fought the British with little or no military assistance from either the State or Federal governments. The Thirty-Sixth Infantry under Colonel Henry Carberry was removed from the county by the President. Brigadier General Philip Stuart, who commanded the Maryland State Militia in St. Mary's and Charles Counties, was ordered to keep his forces in Ann Arundel, Baltimore, and Calvert Counties. Both the Federal and State authorities were reluctant to maintain military forces on the several peninsulas of Southern Maryland where they could be cut off by the superior British forces. Moreover, all available military forces were needed to defend Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis.

In Washington the Military Committee of the House of Representatives had reported that the British, though a few hours' sail from the capital, would not make a hostile expedition to the seat

[4] Ridge, or The Ridge, was the southeasternmost community of St. Mary's County where a post office had been established shortly before Dec. 24, 1800. Postmaster General Letterbook "K," p. 200.

[5] Williams, Jones and Biscoe are listed in the Third United States Census (1810). Niles' *Weekly Register* (July 31, 1813), p. 356, mentions R. Armstrong as one of the captured, but he is not in the Census although a John Armstrong is listed.

of the Government, and that the British intended only to blockade American ports and limit the kinds and quantity of exports from the United States. Postmaster General Gideon Granger did not believe this report and was kept regularly informed by his special agents of the activities of the invaders on the lower Potomac River. It was well-known in Washington that the capital was destitute of defenses against enemy raids.

Fort Washington (formerly Fort Warburton), the nearest defense outpost of the capital, was located about sixteen miles southeast of the capital and its defenses during July consisted of about twenty guns, eighteen thirty-two-pounders, a water battery of eight thirty-two-pounders, all advantageously placed.[6] General John Armstrong, Secretary of War, visited the fort and brought with him 600 regulars. William Jones, Secretary of the Navy, sailed to Fort Washington on the United States Frigate *Adams* with accompanying gunboats from the Navy Yard. Colonel James Monroe, Secretary of State, rode with cavalry patrols along the shores of the Potomac River (to Port Tobacco) with the intent of observing the approaching British fleet. These three cabinet members and many congressmen waited about six days for the impending attacks of the British. The enemy forces, however, never reached Fort Washington. The British realized the difficulty of attacking the capital of the United States during the summer of 1813; they cruised back to Chesapeake Bay after reaching a point sixty miles from Washington. Point Lookout was evacuated by them on August 27.

The following correspondence of Postmaster General Gideon Granger contains references to the British forces, to a few Americans who were suspected of giving aid to the enemy, to the establishment and operations of express mail service between St. Mary's County and Washington, and to instructions to special agents for observing and reporting British activities:

William Lambert Esq.[7] March 24th 1813

You will please to proceed immediately to Port Tobacco, and after ascertaining the most suitable place for observation at Maryland point or Thomas's point, you will repair to that place, and during each day carefully watch with suitable glasses & note down what passes on the waters within the reach of your glasses, and send to this office by each mail a transcript

[6] Niles' *Weekly Register* (July 24, 1813), p. 340.
[7] Special agent.

of your journal,[8]—At evening you will employ a valet to keep a general lookout, and ascertain if possible, whether any and how many vessels pass down and up in the night, which on each succeeding morning you will carefully minute on the journal. Should there be any thing in the conduct of any particular vessel calculated to excite suspicion either from the frequency of her appearance, or the mode in which she is managed, you will watch such vessel with peculiar care gain the most perfect description of her, and by the first succeeding post inform this office of every circumstance even the most minute.—

In case any vessel or number of vessels having the indications of hostile intentions should meet your view you will carefully ascertain their size and number, and the number of boats accompanying the same, and also whether there are the appearance of many persons on board and all other things calculated to give us correct information and as soon as you can have put this information on paper, of which the precise time will be material part, you will dispatch a trusty man as an express to this office with directions to reach the same and deliver his letter in the least time and you will also furnish him with an open letter in the name of this office directing all postmasters contractors [9] and other agents of this office and soliciting all other persons to help forward the express without delay and in case of his inability to proceed to receive the letters of him, and forward them immediately—You will duly appreciate the importance of such information on the one hand, and the evils of a false alarm on the other—For your expences you will draw on this office, and you will be allowed for your service $2.50/100 per day

G[ideon] G[ranger][10]

A similar letter was written to special agent Henry Wertz, who was instructed to proceed to Point Lookout and to send information by another express to Annapolis and Baltimore.

To his deputies in Maryland Postmaster General Granger sent the following circular to facilitate the work of the special agents:

March 25, 1813

I have stationed Henry Wertz Esq. at Point Look Out on public service and whenever he orders an express to this office or to Annapolis Baltimore

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[8] Not among the records of the Post Office Department or among records in the custody of the National Archives.

[9] Samuel Speake, from Washington (by way of Piscataway, Port Tobacco, Allensfresh, Newport, Chaptico, Leonardtown, Great Mills, and St. Inigoes) to Ridge. Samuel Speake, from Washington (by way of Upper Marlboro and Queen Anne) to Annapolis. William Stevens, Jr., from Upper Marlboro to Chaptico. Thomas Dixon, from Port Tobacco to Nanjimoy. Lorman Crawford & Co., from Alexandria (by way of Georgetown, Washington, Bladensburg, and Elk Ridge Landing) to Baltimore. Baldwin and Holland, from Baltimore to Annapolis. Postmaster General Letterbook "R," pp. 149-158.

[10] Gideon Granger of Suffield, Connecticut, served as Postmaster General from 1801 to 1814.

as the case may be, I charge you to help forward the express with the greatest possible speed, and in case of his inability to proceed, to forward the packages he bears to their destination without the least delay. You will charge the expences to this office [11]

GG

To		
Charles Burrell Esq. PM	Baltimore	Md
Dennis M. Burgess Esq. P. M.	Upper Marlboro'	Md
Matthias Clarke Esq. P. M.	Ridge	"
Joseph Harrison Esq.* P. M.	Charlottehall	"
William Hammett Esq. P. M.	Leonardtown	"
Charles D. Hodges Esq.* P. M.	Queen Anne	"
Rinaldo Johnson Esq.* P. M.	Acquasco	"
William Jackson Esq.* P. M.	Nanjemoy	"
David Koones Esq.* P. M.	Piscataway	"
John Munroe Esq. P. M.	Annapolis	Md
John McCulloch Esq.* P. M.	Newport	Md
James Swan Esq.* P. M.	Allensfresh	Md
James F. Sotheron Esq.* P. M.	Benedict	Md
Robert D. Semmes Esq. P. M.	Port Tobacco	Md
William Farlton Esq.* P. M.	St. Innigoes	Md
Josiah Turner Esq. P. M.	Chaptico	Md
Robert Young Esq.* P. M.	Notingham	Md

In the following correspondence a charge of treasonable activity is made against the owners and captain of the Schooner *Sydney.* This schooner had been issued a letter of Marque and was captured off Old Point Comfort by the British squadron March 9,

[11] The names marked by asterisks were evidently taken from obsolete lists of post offices and postmasters of the United States and were used to address this circular to the several deputy postmasters. The Records of Appointments of Postmasters, I, 108, 110, 112, 132, and 419; and II, 2, 10, 26, and 113, show that the following persons had been commissioned and served at their respective offices as of Mar. 25, 1813:

Post Office	*Deputy Postmaster*	*Date of Appointment*
Acquasco	Thomas R. Johnson	December 31, 1811
Allensfresh	Edward Twilier	May 11, 1811
Benedict	William Wheatley	August 28, 1811
Charlottehall	James Gardiner	January 1, 1812
Nanjimoy	Massey Simons	March 22, 1812
Newport	Matthew W. Courtney	June 29, 1812
Nottingham	George Armstrong	October 1, 1812
Piscataway	Richard C. Humphrey	August 3, 1812
Queen Anne	John Randall, Jr.	April 19, 1811
Saint Inigoes	Robert D. Semmes	November 30, 1812

James Munroe served as deputy postmaster at Annapolis from Jan. 9, 1811, to Jan. 23, 1823. Records of Appointments of Postmasters, II, 3, and IV, 4. Charles Burrell served as deputy postmaster at Baltimore from Jan. 24, 1800, to Oct. 1, 1818. Records of Appointments of Postmasters, II, 8.

1813. It is possible that the captain was forced to give supplies to the enemy.[12]

Henry Wertz Esq[r] near Ridge Md [13]— April 1, 1813—

I have received yours of the 29[th] Ult, and deemed the information of such importance as to transmit it to the Department of State.[14]

I have to instruct you to obtain and transmit to me the names of the Pilots [15] who have gone into the service of Britain, and such proofs of the facts as you can obtain. You will be at all times particularly vigilant, to detect those who are carrying on a treasonable intercourse with the enemy, whether by furnishing supplies or otherwise, and you will not fail to keep me informed of all passing events by every mail.

G. G.

Hon James Monroe, Secy of State April 1, 1813

I inclose a letter of the 29[th] Ult. from Henry Wertz Esq. who I have stationed at Point Lookout to make observations and collection information from which it appears Luke Kersted and owners of the schooner Sidney, together with Thomas Coward the Captain on the 9[th] of March,[16] furnished

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[12] John P. Cranwell and William B. Crane, *Men of Marque, A History of Private Armed Vessels out of Baltimore during the War of 1812* (New York, 1940), p. 396.

[13] This location may have been two miles west of present-day Ridge, at the fishing and crabbing community of Wynne from which there is an expansive view of the Potomac River.

[14] Nearly all of the correspondence received by the Postmaster General or the General Post Office was either destroyed in a fire in the Post Office Building on Dec. 15, 1836, or disposed of as useless papers under the act of 1881 and similar acts relating to the disposition of useless papers by executive departments. Report No. 134, 24 Cong. 2nd Sess. The letter from Wertz is not in the incoming correspondence (Miscellaneous Letters) of the Secretary of State now in the custody of the National Archives.

[15] M. V. Brewington, Assistant Director of the Peabody Museum at Salem, Massachusetts, in his article, " The Chesapeake Bay Pilots," *MdHM,* XLVIII (1953), 109-133, states that the State of Maryland has not preserved lists of pilots. In a letter of March 12, 1957, to the author of this article, Mr. Brewington states " There is a means, however, of ascertaining the names of the pilots who served on the British fleet in 1813. The Public Record Office in London has the logs of all vessels which were working in Chesapeake Bay. Along with the logs, there are muster rolls of the crews. When anyone was taken on board a British Man-of-War his name was entered on the muster roll so that the purser could account for food being dispensed. The logs would then show when and where pilots came on board and the muster rolls would account of each meal served to the pilot. If the men took any compensation for their services, the purser's books of the vessel would also show how much money was dispersed." It should be noted that during the invasion of St. Mary's County by the British it had been reported that two seamen in a pilot boat slipped out from Point Lookout to warn approaching American vessels of the blockade. Niles' *Weekly Register* (June 5, 1813), p. 228.

[16] Luke Kiersted was an owner of the privateers *Caroline, Fairy, Revenge, Saranac, Sydney* and *Tom.* Other co-owners of the *Sydney* were James Bett, Jr., and M. McLaughlin. The *Sydney* was commissioned Feb. 4, 1813. Thomas Coward was its captain when the *Sydney* was taken by the British on March 9. See *Men of Marque,* pp. 396, 403, 410.

the enemy in our waters with a cargo of flour and it further appears that several pilots from the neighborhood of the Ridge have gone into the enemys services at six Dollars per day each. I have instruced Mr Wertz to procure the names of these pilots and the proofs which go to substantiate the charge— G G

William Lambert Esq. near Najemoy April 1, 1813

Yours of the 28th Ult is received. Your arrangements are satisfactory. Mr Wertz has discovered some traitors in furnishing the enemy with flour, and also in the service of the enemy as pilots at six dollars per day. To the last class of traitors I did not in my instructions think to call your attention, for I could not have believed that any citizen could have been so laxt to duty, as to teach the enemy how to pursue their course to our towns. Let me now intreat you to keep a vigilant eye over this class of citizens & to ascertain whether any who belong within the reach of your view are absent in unknown service—

G G

Henry Wertz agent G P Office, Point Look Out Md April 24th 1813

Sir Yours of the 19th is before me whatever depositions you can procure of aid given to the enemy I wish forwarded open to me and the expence will be allowed in your account but I cannot give you power to compell those who have knowledge to declare it. This belongs to a different branch of the Government

G Gr.

William Lambert Esq. Nanjemoy Md May 8, 1813

I have been duely favoured with yours of the 2d I had frequently mentioned the importance of a vessel crusing in the river, to examine carefully every water craft passing up or down, and finding those employ'd to make discovery I forthwith applied to the Secretary of State & suggested the measure, he approved of it and assured me he would take measures to have it effected immediately—The enemy have burnt Georgetown & Frederickth on the Sassafras, Md. An express has just arriv'd from Sandusky [17]—On the 29 Ult the enemy has attkd Genl Harrison in Ft

[17] John Abbot, former deputy postmaster at Detroit, Michigan, was appointed postmaster of the Northwest Army Headquarters and special agent to the office on Feb. 12, 1812, at a yearly stipend of $800 plus the " expense of horse feed while on the route establishing or improving the lines." Abbot was instructed to establish bi-weekly expresses on two routes: (1) from Fort Meigs (by way of Chillicothe) to Pittsburgh, and (2) from Fort Meigs (by way of Sandusky, Wheatboro, Huron, Black River, Rocky River, and Cleveland) to Pittsburgh. Therefrom, the mail route proceeded to Washington. The two Ohio mail routes were used to send duplicate messages to the War Department. Postmaster General Letterbook " R," pp. 468-469.

Meigs & the attack continued till the express came from Huron May 3d— Issue unknown.[18]

G G.—

William Lambert Esq.. Nanjimoy Md May 20 1813

I have yours of the 16th & you have my assent to your visiting this place

G G.

Henry Wertz Esq. Ridg, Md. June 3d 1813

Yours of the 31st ult are before me at present I cannot consent to your leavg your station for a day. You can arrange your rent by letter. I have this moment recomd you to Mr Cutts.[19] I fear the office is full.

G G.

On June 26, 1813, Postmaster General Granger notified Henry Wertz that Thomas Swan had been appointed to replace him. Swan was issued a set of instructions similar to those given Wertz.

Thomas Swain Esq.
at St. Thomas Point
near Port Tobacco Md July 15, 1813

Sir

I have this moment received yours of the 13th. Last night I wrote directing you to proceed directly to Point Look Out Md immediately at the mouth of this River. Your present location arose from an error of mine. Do not fail to reach the situation as soon as possible— You have thirty dollars inclosed according to your wish— We hear the enemy are advancing towards us— Keep us informed on the subject and give an order to the expresses on the Postmasters for fresh horses

G. G.

William Lambert Esq July 15th 1813
Maryland Point Md

Sir

I have just received yours of the 4th & 11th As you think the mouth of Nanjimoy Creek the most valuable station, I direct you to proceed there immediately. keep us fully informed by active expresses as we know the enemy are in the river in Great Strength

G G

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[18] The siege at Fort Meigs lasted from April 25 to May 9 on which day the British withdrew by 10 AM. General William H. Harrison reported that a force of about 3,000 British and Indians had surrounded and attacked the fort. On the American side, 77 were killed and 196 were wounded before the fighting stopped. During the fighting both British and Americans visited each other's camps to see to the comfort and convenience of prisoners and to exchange them. Niles' *Weekly Register* (May 15, 1813), pp. 178, 190, 242.

[19] Richard Cutts, newly appointed Superintendent.

Mathias Clarke Esq.[20] Ridge Md June 19—1813

I have this moment ordered a regular line of daily expresses [21] between this office and the Ridge post office passing down it will reach your office at 1.34 O. C. p. m. and coming to this office it will leave at 3 O. C. p. m. I request you on each day to drop me a line by the mail informing me of Interesting events, particularly of the state of our troops & of the motions and strength of the Enemy.

G G

Similar letters were sent to the following postmasters. The schedule of mail from their offices was as follows:

	Departure	*Arrival*
David Koones, Piscataway	9:00 PM	6:30 AM
William Hammett, Leonardtown	5:00 AM	9:00 PM
Josiah Turner, Chaptico	4:47 AM	7:17 PM
James Swan, Allens Fresh	2:30	2:00 AM
Robert D. Semmes, Port Tobacco	12:30 AM	4:00 AM

Thomas Swan Esq. Point Lookout Md July 19—1813

I have this moment ordered a daily express between this and the Ridge post office. It will leave that post office every day at 3 OC. P. M. you will be careful on each day to send a letter for me at that office each day by 2. p. m. informing of every interesting event and reporting the state of things—

G G

Honbl John Armstrong Secty at War. July 19—1813

I have this moment established a daily express, to leave this office 3 O. C. p. m. arrive at Head quarters at 7. O. C. p. m. tarry there *one* hour, then proceed to the Ridge near Point Look Out & reach there 2 O. C. p. m. *23 hours* [22]

G G

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[20] In 1810 Clarke was between 26 and 45 years of age with a family of 2 males under 10 years of age, 1 male between 10 and 16 years of age, 2 males between 16 and 26 years of age, 3 females under 10 years of age, and 3 females 45 years of age and over. He owned 3 slaves. Third United States Census (1810) for Maryland, St. Mary's County, Vol. IV, p. 207.

[21] Names of express riders may be located in local post offices or in the personal records of Gideon Granger in the Missouri Historical Society. For the period Apr. 1, 1811, to Dec. 31, 1813, the regular mail contract from Georgetown (by way of Washington, Palmer's Tavern, Piscataway, Pleasant Hill, Port Tobacco, Allens Fresh, Newport, Chaptico, St. Clement's Bay, Leonardtown, Great Mills, and St. Inigoes) to Ridge was let to Samuel Speake, over which route the mail was carried once a week for $550 per annum. Postmaster General Letterbook " R," pp. 149-158.

[22] Niles' *Weekly Register* (May 22, 1813), p. 195, states that arrangements had been made for intelligence of the entry of the British in the Potomac to reach Washington in 22 hours. In addition to these official arrangements there were also hundreds of other reports coming to Washington from St. Mary's County.

A key [23] is inclosed which you will please entrust to such person as you think proper.

Hon[bl] James Monroe Secretary of State near Port Tobacco Md 19—July

I have this moment established a daily express between Point Look Out & this office. It leaves Ridge post office 3 p. m. reaches here 1:30 pm. It reaches Port Tobacco going East at 30 am past midnight & coming this way at 4. O. C. A. M.

G G

Hon[bl] W[m] Jones. Secretary of the Navy G. P. office July 21—1813

An express has just reached this office from Point Look out. My agent [24] writes July 20 9—A. M.

There are 2 schooners of About 12 guns each (not pierced for guns) and a large Transport Brig. which expect has troops, only between 20 and 30 discovered. These vessels are standing up the river. One of the Schooners from above at 6 p. M. of the 19[th] passed down the river & down the Bay, nothing in sight any way at Sunset of the 19[th]—

G G

Thomas Swan Esq Point Look Out, Md. July 21—1813

I have received your 3 expresses of the 18[th] 19[th] & 20[th]. The information is highly important. The money you wish is ordered. You will write daily by our express & you ought to send a similiar letter to the Commandant [25] at Forts Warburton or Washington

G G

Hon[bl] John Armstrong at Head Quarters, near Washington

July 21—1813. Yesterday at 9 A. M. I rec[d] despatches by an express from my agent Thomas Swan at point Look Out stating that on Sunday the 18[th] at half past 4. p. m. a 74 gun ship and a 38 gun Frigate passed up the Potomack under full sail at 4. p. m. I rec[d] a second set of despatches from the same agent stating that on Monday the 19[th] at half past 2 p. m. one 74 gun ship, 3 Frigates, 1 large Brig, and 3 Topsail Schooners passed up the river under full sail. This forenoon I have rec[d] a further Express from M[r] Swan with Intelligence that 2 Schooners with about 12 guns each and a large transport Brig which he believed had Troops tho he could only discover between 20 and 30 were standing up the river with a light

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[23] By this time General Armstrong had arrived at Fort Washington. A key was required to open the portmanteau containing copies or digests of reports submitted by special agents to the Postmaster General.

[24] William Lambert.

[25] The earliest available post accounts of the Adjutant General of the War Department is dated Nov. 1813, when Captain Samuel Dyson was in charge of the Fort.

breeze wind, yesterday morning at 9 a m He further informs that 6 p. m, of the 19th one of the enemy's schooners came down the river and stood down the bays. Yesterday I examined a pilot who was sent as an express on purpose that he might communicate orally. He has been steadily at Point Look Out untill Sunday evening, and it appears from his statement that there are now in the river 6 seventy fours on 64 on Razee, 6 Frigates 3 Brigs of war, one heavy transport Brig, and 9 schooners. the 64 and 3 Frigates certainly full of troops the Transport Brig also believed to be. It is unknown whether there are extra troops in the others or not

GG

SIDELIGHTS

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLONIAL TOBACCO TRADE

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

The magnificent collections of county records assembled in the Hall of Records at Annapolis since 1934 are a little-used source of valuable information on the tobacco trade of colonial Maryland.[1] The two documents given below are but samples from a single county, Anne Arundel, of the rich and varied evidence which may be found in these local court records concerning the tobacco trade.

With the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, a long war-time depression in the tobacco trade gave way to a period of unusual prosperity. Peace reopened old (and English diplomacy opened new) markets on the European continent for Virginia and Maryland tobacco, freight rates and insurance premiums tumbled from their war-time heights to more reasonable figures, and English merchants rushed to participate in the post-war boom in the tobacco trade. Ships, often scarce during the war, swarmed in the rivers of Virginia and Maryland, and the English merchants competed for the available crops of tobacco with high prices, plentiful supplies of manufactures and liberal credit terms.

Some of these English merchants were represented in the colonies by local agents, either natives of the region or Englishmen sent out under contract. These agents, known in the tobacco trade as factors, performed a variety of services for their English principals. They not only sold goods and bought tobacco but also collected debts and solicited consignments from planters who shipped on their own account. By the terms of their contracts the factors were usually enjoined from engaging in trade for themselves, but to supplement their salary they were often allowed, like the captains in the tobacco trade, to ship a certain quantity of tobacco on their own account.

The contract printed below was between two merchants of Exeter [2] and Thomas Carpenter, a young mariner willing to exchange his hazardous calling for less dangerous if no less arduous employment as a factor in

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[1] I am greatly indebted to Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, and the staff of the Maryland Hall of Records at Annapolis for many courtesies extended over the course of the past six years. Circumstances have prevented much of this material seeing the light of print as yet.

[2] One of the small ports in Devon whose hardy seamen drove a thriving trade to America.

the tobacco colonies. He agreed to serve Daniel Ivy and Henry Arthur as their factor in either Virginia or Maryland for seven years or until they no longer had need of his services; they agreed to pay him an annual salary and to allow him to ship home each year a small quantity of tobacco on his own account. Carpenter was also given permission to return to England for a visit after four years in the colonies.[3]

As it turned out, Thomas Carpenter went to Maryland. In 1702, while he was still " faithfully duely & honestly " complying with his agreement, Carpenter received a letter from his surviving employer, Henry Arthur, who was then in London.[4] Arthur ordered his factor, before returning to England, to present his accounts and to turn over any effects of the concern which remained in his hands to Thomas Bale. During the winter of 1703-04, Thomas Carpenter, who intended to return to England with the next homeward bound tobacco fleet, complied with Henry Arthur's instructions. He left behind him uncollected debts to the value of thirty pounds, fifteen shillings and eleven pence, five barrels of train oil, sixty-two pounds of whale bone and one gun.[5]

Articles Indented had made & Agreed on this fourteenth day of January Anno Domini Sixteen hundred Ninety Seven Between Daniel Ivy & Henry Arthur of the Citty of Exon M*r*chants of the one part & Thomas Carpenter of Alfington in the County of Devon Mariner of the other part.

Imprimis the said Thomas Carpenter of his own Accord & with the Advice & Consent of his Relations Doth hereby Convenant Promise & oblige himself to & with the said Daniel Ivy and Henry Arthur well & faithfully to serve them in Quality of their Agent or Factor in Virginia or Maryland during the full term or time of Seven Years to Comence from the day of the date hereof If the said Daniel Ivy & Henry Arthur or either of them shall so long Live & think fitt to Continue him in their Imployment & Service And that he will from time to time & at all times during the sd Term demean himself in all poynts as becometh a true & faithfull Diligent & Industrious Serv*t* in observing & Executing their Ord*rs* & Instruccons & promoting their Interest & Advantage to the Uttmost of his power Skill & Ability And will render them a true & faithfull Acco*t* of all the Concernes Goods M*r*chandizes Mony & Debts which they or their Agents or Factors shall from time to time Comitt or Consigne to his Care Trust or Management together with the Just ballance thereof And will Deliver up & Assigne [ov]er to any Pson or persons who shall be by them appointed & Authorized to Receive the same all Goods Mony Outstanding Debts & Effects whatsoever to them in any wise belonging or appertayning when & as often as he shall be thereunto required And that During the time or term afd he will wholely & solely

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[3] Anne Arundel County Deeds, Liber W. T. No. 2, pp. 119-121.
[4] *Ibid,* p. 121.
[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 121-123.

imploy himself in & about the Management of their affaires & will neither Directly nor Indirectly Trade or Traffique for his own or any other Psons Acco*t* whatsoever The Liberty for himself Granted by these P*r*sents only Excepted (that is to say) for the first Year to send home for his own Acco*t* & Risque to be Consign'd to the sd Daniel Ivy & Henry Arthur upon Freight & to be by them Disposed of for his Most Advantage One Tonn or four hogsheads of Tob*o* the Second Year two Tonns the third Year three Tonns the fourth Year four Tonns the fifth Year five Tonns the Sixth Year Six Tonns & the Seventh Year Seven Tonns of Tob*o* And in Consideration of his Faithfull Service to be perform'd as afd the said Daniel Ivy & Henry Arthur do hereby Covenant promise & oblige themselves to & with the said Thomas Carpenter to allow satisfy & pay to him or his order for the first Year that he shall so serve them as aforesaid The Sume of twenty pounds Sterl*g* The Second Year thirty pds the Third Year forty pounds the fourth Year fifty pounds the fifth Year Sixty pounds the Sixth Year Seventy pounds the Seventh Year Eighty pounds Sterl*g* or pro Rato or in proportion for the time he shall so serve them as aforesaid He finding to himself Meat Drink Cloths washing & Lodging at his own proper Charges And that they will render him a Just Acco*t* of the Tob*o* that he shall from time to time Consigne them & will make Good the produce when Re*cd* as he shall ord*r* And that they will Pmitt the said Thomas Carpenter to returne into England for one Voyage during the Concurrence of the said Seven Years as will best Suite wih their Occasions after he shall have served them four Years in Virginia or Maryland aforesaid And for the true Pformance of these Articles mutually Agreed on as aforesaid The partys whose p*r*sents have Interchangeably Sett their hands & Seals the Day & Year first abovewritten Seald & Delivered in P*r*sence of Tho:Bale Sam*l* Roper Michael Mudd[,] May y*e* 15*th* 1704.

HENRY ARTHUR
DANIEL IVY

In the spring of 1710, when the second of these documents was written, the tobacco trade was again in the depths of a wartime depression. Eight years before, the ambitions of Louis XIV to place his grandson on the throne of Spain had plunged Europe into a bloody and lengthy war in which England, Holland and some of the States of the Holy Roman Empire fought to prevent a permanent family compact between the rulers of France and Spain.

As usual the war brought depression to the American tobacco colonies. Ships became scarce, freight rates doubled and insurance premiums soared. The English merchants, unable to sell their tobacco in some of their continental markets, restricted their purchases in the tobacco colonies, sent out fewer shipments of supplies and curtailed the credits which they were accustomed to grant in better times. The tobacco planters, however, who were in no position to substitute another crop for tobacco, endeavored to

make up for their reduced profits by increasing their shipments of tobacco to Great Britain. The result was disaster. The British tobacco merchants' warehouses became glutted with unsaleable tobacco, and the value of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland fell so low that many planters were forced into other forms of husbandry. In England the price of tobacco fell so low that the shipping charges and customs duties on a planter's shipment often exceeded the proceeds from its sales.

In these circumstances the British tobacco merchants protested any bills of exchange drawn against unsold tobacco, refused to extend any more credit in the tobacco colonies and tried frantically to repatriate their assets. The following letter of John Hyde, one of the leading London tobacco merchants, written on the first day of the year 1710, Old Style, illustrates many of these points.[6]

Annapolis [London] the *25th* March 1710

M*r* Lewes Duvall

S*r*

I received your sundry Letters dated in May June and September Last and note the Contents: have alsoe recd your Twenty two hoggsheads of Tobaccoe P Fish; Harvey Burbydge; Wasson and Hollyman : all which are unsold : nor Cann I give you Incouragement to expect much for them our Marketts for Tobaccoe are soe very Dull and noe prospect of much amendment as yett; I will Endeavour to take the best opportunity; I cann for the Sale of them Soe that very Little Cann be depended upon for the paym*t* of bills for which reason I have not Honoured yours notwithstanding both M*r* Carroll and you advise me that you have Lodged a Security for repaying me; But M*r* Carroll knows very well that I have such Sumes of money allready due to me in Maryland which I cannot gett in that I am not willing to runn any further; Except Trade had a better prospect then it has at present; Soe that you must Excuse my not Complying with your request; at this times things are soe Strangely alter'd : that till please God to send us peace I doe not Expect it will be better—Inclosed is your account Currant; which doubt not but you will find right and am—

Your Friend & Servant
JOHN HYDE

[Endorsed] Enrolled December 23*d* 1710
Robert Hall *Cl*

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[6] Anne Arundel County Deeds, Liber PK (1708-1712), p. 310.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Cultural Life of the American Colonies 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. xvi, 292 pp. $5.

Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C., is widely known for his popular and scholarly books on American colonial history. In the course of a distinguished career as a teacher, editor, and librarian, Dr. Wright has written extensively and entertainingly on almost every aspect of early American society and thought. Now, in the volume under review, he provides an excellent synthesis, summarizing in some 250 pages the main currents in the cultural and intellectual life of the American colonies from the founding of Jamestown to the eve of the Revolution. In this period, scholars are no longer likely to discover much that is new or unknown, but readers already acquainted with, or desirous of avoiding, the familiar story of colonial political life will find the Wright book different and rewarding. Like other volumes in the New American Nation Series, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, the present work contains a full bibliography and careful index.

Americans living in today's industrialized and urbanized society can hardly appreciate the extent to which their ancestors were bound to the soil. Agriculture molded colonial life and thought. In the words of the author, "At the beginning of settlement and for many generations thereafter, agrarian society and the leadership that an agrarian society developed played a paramount part in the civilization of North America." But an agrarian, frontier way of life did not mean that early Americans were condemned to eking out a bare subsistence. "In contrast to the Old World, the colonies offered the poor man who was industrious and thrifty the opportunity of acquiring land and a house of his own." Along with such material advantages went the boon of a free social and political system. "From the beginning, American society was flexible and fluid. Nowhere did society harden into a caste or even into rigid classes."

Social classes did, of course, develop in America, and a native aristocracy gradually assumed leadership, but both wealthy Virginia planters and New England merchants were "working gentlemen," disciplined by the notion of the dignity of labor. In the South, however, slavery by the close of the seventeenth century was providing greater opportunities for the rise of a cultivated, semi-leisure class. William Byrd II of Westover, Virginia, was unusual, but not unique, in the range of his cultural and intellectual interests. In New England, where merchants and farmers were generally too busy for cultural pursuits, only the Puritan clergy

maintained intellectual standards comparable in quality to those of the planter class. But the growing town life in the North did provide greater institutional facilities for things of the mind. The zeal for education, furthered by public support, was more widespread in New England than in the South, and Harvard College was clearly superior to William and Mary.

One of the great advantages of colonial culture was its diversity. America early became a melting pot of races and religions, each contributing its particular customs and distinctive ways. The responsibility that almost all groups assumed in regard to education was partly a means of preserving and encouraging their own cultural characteristics. Although religious intolerance waned, toleration and understanding were never synonymous with indifference to moral and intellectual values.

In books and literature the tradition and example of England dominated, and Boston by the close of the seventeenth century was second only to London as a center of the book-sellers trade. A number of the colonials amassed excellent libraries—William Byrd II, Cotton Mather, and James Logan each having collections of more than three thousand volumes. The major towns along the seaboard established subscription libraries. Although the books were mostly Old World classics, colonial authors were by no means non-existent. Most of their works fell into the classifications of history, personal narrative, and theology. Often dull reading today, a surprising amount of colonial literary production has, however, endured, and the two major American intellectual figures of the mid-eighteenth century, Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin, are still much admired for their writings.

In many of the attributes of cultural life, the colonies could not hope to compete with the older civilization of Europe, but in architecture and the decorative arts colonial taste was outstanding. Almost everywhere in the colonies there was prejudice against the theatre, but Wright refutes the notion that New England Puritans had no appreciation of music.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the American colonies to general culture was the stimulus that the New World offered to scientific observation and speculation. European curiosity about the flora and fauna of North America was keen, while American scientists made noteworthy additions to knowledge in the fields of botany and astronomy. Philadelphia, the home of John Bartram, David Rittenhouse, and Benjamin Franklin, was a center of scientific interests, but almost all colonial men of learning had a considerable broad understanding of science.

Not yet prey to the demands of modern specialization and professionalization, an educated man in the colonial era was better able to comprehend and contribute to his culture than is the case with his later-day descendants. By present standards the newspapers and modes of communication in colonial times were hopelessly inadequate, but the quality of thinking was high. Moreover, there was a sufficient inter-colonial cooperation and communication after 1763 to make possible the success of the American Revolution.

A volume so modest in size, covering so large a period of American

history, cannot be expected to be all-inclusive. The chapters, topical in nature, treat every major aspect of colonial culture, but perhaps something more could have been said regarding the role of women and Negroes. Also, some readers may feel that the topical organization makes it difficult to gain a picture of early American life in terms of its growth and development. Yet, nowhere else can one conveniently find the history of colonial culture related with the scholarship and literary skill displayed in Mr. Wright's fine volume.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

The German Language Press in America. By CARL WITTKE. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. vi, 311 pp. $6.50.

Professor Wittke paraphrases Voltaire by stating that if at the time of some national emergencies a foreign-language press had not existed it would have been necessary to create one. In the ten-year span beginning 1846 three million immigrants arrived in the United States and by far the greatest number came from Germany. Since most of the new arrivals did not read English it was only through their own language that they could be informed about conditions and political questions in the United States and thus become assimilated. The most famous among the German immigrants who is now ranked among American statesmen, Carl Schurz, in a speech before the press club in New York stated the purpose of the German language press to be as follows: it is to interpret America to those who cannot yet read English; to keep the German element informed regarding intellectual development in Germany; to promote understanding and cooperation among the Germans in the United States; and to teach German immigrants how hospitable and unprejudiced the United States has been toward the foreign-born, welcoming the stranger with "open-handed generosity."

It was Benjamin Franklin who in 1732 founded the first German-language paper in America, the *Philadelphische Zeitung*; to be sure it turned out to be a short-lived and unimportant publication. Much more successful was Christopher Saur's weekly founded in 1739 and claiming in 1751 a circulation of four thousand. As time went on other newspapers were founded wherever there were German immigrants in large numbers until in 1890 (the high point for German-language publications) they numbered 800. The widest known and in many ways the best edited is the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* founded in 1834 and continuing down to the present time. In 1872 its circulation reached 55,000 and the owners claimed this was the largest of any German paper in the world; this is plausible in view of the fact that many Europeans read their papers in cafés rather than spend money for an individual subscription. In 1868 a young Hungarian immigrant, Joseph Pulitzer, joined the staff of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*; in the course of time he rose to become part owner

and in 1878 he bought the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—the beginning of a famous newspaper dynasty.

The unsuccessful German Revolution of 1848 forced thousands of idealists who had fought to democratize and to unite Germany to flee their fatherland and to find refuge in the United States. For the university-trained men among their number the most promising field in their adopted country was journalism. Professor Wittke entitles the chapter dealing with them *The Forty-eighter Renaissance* and states that in two centuries of German immigration no other group has made such an impact upon the United States as the few thousand political refugees of 1848. After the tragic failure of their efforts at political activity in Germany their ardor for the struggle for freedom found a ready field in the United States. In the controversy over Negro slavery, states' rights and sectionalism—the chief issues of the eighteen-fifties—the new arrivals after 1848 saw questions of basic human rights. They aroused their previously non-political readers into political thinking and guided them into the newly-formed Republican party. The German editors were extremely active at the Republican Convention in Chicago in 1860 where they put a "Dutch plank" into the platform and later in the election campaign that brought Lincoln to the White House. How highly Lincoln thought of the importance of the German vote is shown by the fact that he bought a Springfield, Illinois, German paper and used it during the campaign as an organ for enunciating some of his policies. After the election he showed his appreciation of the German editors by appointing a considerable number to consular and other political posts. Further evidence of their assimilation in the American melting-pot is the record of the German element in the Civil War.

Professor Wittke states that if there had been no War of 1914-18 the German-American hyphen would probably have disappeared in a reasonably short time. But the War was responsible for the most difficult and humiliating experiences which any immigrant group has ever had in the long history of American immigration with the possible exception of the Japanese-Americans in World War II. Excited Americans became convinced that everything of German origin somehow must be treasonable. In October, 1917, Congress enacted the first law in our history for the specific control of the foreign language press. But though the foreign-language papers were under censorship, not one German paper was suppressed during the War. There is no evidence that the German language press was ever controlled from abroad; on the contrary, Professor Wittke states that German censors at times forbade the circulation of U. S. German papers in Germany because of their critical attitude toward German institutions.

This history of the German language press is an interestingly written, scholarly account of a phase of immigration, a field in which Professor Wittke is an authority as his half dozen previous publications attest. The addition of a bibliography would have improved the book. To be sure, the author cites his numerous sources in footnotes very often, for example, Dr. Dieter Cunz' *The Maryland Germans*. The first citation is complete

but if an interested reader finds this item on page 203 he must leaf back page by page to page 29 until he finds the name of the publisher from whom he can buy the book.

A. E. ZUCKER

University of Maryland

Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties. By JAMES MORTON SMITH. Ithaca: Cornell University Press in cooperation with the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956. xv, 464 pp. $5.

By now James Smith's book, *Freedom's Fetters* is already known as the volume with the humorous dedication: " For my wife: The Power behind the Drone." But the book thus stimulated by Mrs. Smith is worthy of attention and praise for its scholarly merit and solid accomplishment: henceforth no one can properly claim to know much about the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 without having carefuly read *Freedom's Fetters.* Here, at long last, is an authoritative and reliable study of an important topic that has obvious political relevance for those concerned today with the problems of freedom and toleration in the face of a foreign threat and possible internal subversion. When we ponder the questions of liberty and censorship, politics and patriotism, and respect for constitutional rights even if accorded to opponents of such rights, then we can gain some solace and wisdom from the knowledge that these are not new issues. Unhappily our political mistakes are not new either.

The political eruption known as the Alien and Sedition Acts were measures aimed ostensibly at American security in the likely possibility of war with France after " the XYZ affair." Actually there were four separate pieces of legislation, not all of which were partisan or politically inspired. First there was the Naturalization Act of June 18, 1798, which raised from five to fourteen years the period of residence required for American citizenship. This law was aimed at French immigrants who were now potential enemies within the United States. But such immigrants also had shown a tendency to ally with Jefferson's Republican party, and delaying the time when they might vote the Jefferson ticket was clearly in the interest of the Adams Federalists. Since Swiss-born Albert Gallatin managed to secure an exemption for aliens already resident in the United States, the immediate political impact of this act was slight. Indeed, Dr. Smith points out that both political parties had favored similar restrictive legislation before: the Federalists hoped to exclude radicals and revolutionaries from France, and the Republicans wanted to reduce the impact of *emigré* aristocrats who might join the Federalists. Even in 1798 no one party enjoyed a monopoly of political virtue.

Less attractive was the second measure, the Alien Enemies Act, which authorized the President in wartime to arrest or banish enemy aliens. This was a permanent statute, and Dr. Smith demonstrates that this had

bipartisan support and was not simply a Federalist device against the French. After all, the Republicans could conceivably employ such powers against English aliens who normally allied with the Federalists.

However, the two remaining acts were much more partisan in character, and in Dr. Smith's opinion were morally and even legally inexcusable. The Alien Act gave the President broad powers to deport any aliens considered dangerous to the national peace and safety, and the Federalists made little effort to deny the arbitrary nature of this law. Alexander Hamilton, an alien from the Danish West Indies, ventured the opinion that "the mass [of aliens] ought to be obliged to leave the country," and only qualified this assertion by urging no violence or cruelty to the merchants. Apparently, notes Dr. Smith, Hamilton could easily ignore his own origin and saw nothing wrong in uprooting peaceable aliens and deporting them. Happily this act was not implemented, although President Adams did sign several blank warrants in case of need. Jefferson's disgusted comment that this was "a libel on legislation" was ignored in the clamor and national fear over the threat of war posed by the French.

It was with the same emphasis on national security that the Federalists urged the final and most controversial of these laws, the Sedition Act. This Dr. Smith regards as a bald effort to muzzle all political opposition to the Adams administration by labeling such criticism as tending to ridicule the government and aid the enemy in the process. Again this stratagem has its modern proponents who denounce their critics flatly as communists. Some Federalists were frank in their interest in the Sedition Act, admitting it to be a superb device for destroying their political enemies, whom they called "heralds of calumny and apostles of insurrection." One common misconception is discussed in this connection by Dr. Smith: Alexander Hamilton is frequently thought to have opposed the Sedition Act, and is often quoted as saying "I hope the thing may not be hurried through. Let us not establish a tyranny." Actually, as Dr. Smith properly explains, Hamilton's opposition was not based upon the issue of freedom of speech, but from fear of creating Republican martyrs by too extreme a penalty for those convicted of sedition. An early Federalist version of the Sedition Act contemplated enforcing a death penalty for those "aiding or comforting" France, and Hamilton was speaking against this as going a little too far. He was in favor of the heavy fines and prison sentences that were substituted in the final form of the act.

The last sections of *Freedom's Fetters* are concerned with the enforcement of these Alien and Sedition Acts, and include the famous episode of one Luther Baldwin and his impious hope that a cannon ball might penetrate President Adam's posterior (which expressed hope cost Baldwin one hundred and fifty dollars in fines). The coverage extended to judicial (but partisan) enforcement of the Sedition Act is exhaustive and sometimes exhausting, and includes a discussion of the political impact of such developments on the 1800 elections. However Dr. Smith makes the rather strange and arbitrary omission of the principal response made by

Jefferson and Madison in their Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. Having confined the present volume to the Federalist measures of 1798 and their enforcement, it is the author's avowed intention to devote a second volume to the reaction against "this repressive legislation." This plan serves to stimulate the reader's appetite, but it would seem to make for an awkward organization of material. Already in this current volume Dr. Smith has been obliged to discuss at length certain aspects of the political reaction to the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the logic behind his organizational division seems somewhat obscure.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that *Freedom's Fetters* is a major event in historical scholarship. The scholarship is excellent, the contribution definitive. The latter adjective usually signifies that a work is inclined to be detailed, accurate, and dull: *Freedom's Fetters* generally fits this description. Dr. Smith has dismissed an earlier study in his field (Miller's *Crisis in Freedom*) as "a brief, popular survey which stresses readability over analysis." It is regretted that he has almost reversed this criticism by emphasizing detail and analysis over readability. The quiet humor that this reviewer associates with Jim Smith in person is sadly missed in his book, despite the auspicious dedication. The few light touches that are present in *Freedom's Fetters* derive mainly from Republican taunts at the Federalists, taunts which amuse and instruct in the bitterness of partisan politics in the 1790's. When we read Bache's description of President Adams as "old, querulous, Bald, blind, crippled, Toothless Adams," we can better understand the Federalist inclination to gag the critics with whatever device was handy. It must be conceded that Dr. Smith writes from a strong Jeffersonian bias which makes objectivity towards the Federalist viewpoint sometimes difficult of attainment. It is too tempting to apply today's occasional standards of tolerance to an age only yet groping towards such ideals, and the Federalists do not emerge with quite the sympathy and understanding that greater impartiality might bring them.

H. Trevor Colbourn

The Pennsylvania State University

Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens. By Henry Chandler Forman. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, Inc., 1957. 208 pp. $10.

Dr. Forman has written this book about old Maryland houses as a sequel to his earlier and well-known *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* to "take up the challenge to gather and preserve this ancient and priceless material before it is forever lost."

The introduction explains some long forgotten room designations of early times and continues with an elaborate and involved explanation of historic periods and concludes with a gratuitous reminder of the copyright laws and a warning against unauthorized use.

The houses discussed are taken up in groups according to geographical location—the lower and upper Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, the upper Bay counties and Baltimore. A non-objective text is interspersed with historical and explanatory data, numerous photographs and diagramatic sketches by the author who gives every evidence of a deep interest in his subject and a determination, as far as he is able, to arrest the fast process of disintegration and destruction that besets our architectural heritage.

The work might constitute an agenda for a program for the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, with the proviso that looking backward is the hallmark of stagnation and that conservation where the need no longer exists is fruitless. Admirable as is the preservation of such houses in Maryland as the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis and Hampton in Baltimore County we can not continue to create museums. Our early houses were built to be lived in and any other use lessens their interest and value. "Genesar" on the Atlantic Ocean is all that Dr. Forman claims for it except that it lacks the practical present day appeal as a family residence. Such houses will inevitably be discarded and sloughed off. The pattern of decay starts with a use other than that at first planned and preservation is only successful if that use can be revived.

The book points a need and will certainly be of interest to all who feel that the more we comprehend the past the better we apprehend the present.

JOHN H. SCARFF

The Years Between, A Chronicle of Annapolis, Maryland, 1800-1900. By CLARENCE MARBURY WHITE, SR. and EVANGELINE KAISER WHITE. New York: Exposition Press, 1957. 159 pp. $3.

Annapolis is one of the best documented cities in the country as far as its brief "Golden Era" (1750-1800) is concerned. But, for lack of records of the succeeding period, one might think there were skeletons in its mahogany wardrobes. Mrs. White, aided by her husband's vivid memory, has recreated the town with all its charm and quaintness; unique in some ways, not unlike Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford in others. To be sure, as a memoir the history can not go beyond the authors' recollections except through research or hearsay. Research she has left to others. This is an informal telling of the tale by remarkably accurate narrators, but largely of the years between 1890 and 1940.

Annapolis in transition with its dislike of change and its re-emergence as a place of importance in World War II is here depicted. The pleasant, easy-going life of a small Southern town will bring back nostalgic memories even to those who have not had the advantages of living at the gate of the great United States Naval Academy or enjoyed "fraish feesh" from the sea around them. The little specialty shops, the doctors'

buggies, the steam trains, the volunteer fireman, the ice man, the simple pleasures of picnics and boat clubs when boats were canoes and not yachts, carry us back to an almost forgotten era. The tone is chatty and without rancor or regret except when the big bad wolf in the shape of Federal encroachment or timid politicians arouse the women to action. And do not underestimate the power of the non-voting Victorian lady!

Mrs. White has brought back to this reviewer the smell of the old grocery stores and of Spring rains on cedar shingles, the glow of Latrobe stoves, the fascination of the change-car that ran around Ridout's store on a cable, of old gentlemen in long, black cloaks, of the cry of the soft-crab vendor and of the lap of tide water on the seawall. The book will have the same effect on any old Annapolitan.

Told by a modern grandmother without pretence to style or pontification, it records and admires the past but holds forth to her grandchildren the hope for a better and less anxious world. Social history is always important, and Mrs. White has done a service in so faithfully recording " the years between."

The pen and ink drawings of Mrs. Orlando Ridout, IV, are a pleasant addition to the book.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

William Penn: A Biography. By CATHERINE OWENS PEARE. Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1957. 448 pp. $6.

William Penn, born October 14, 1644, died July 30, 1718. The popular view of Penn with his high crowned, broad brimmed hat seated majestically in the Pennsylvania countryside in council with the Indians, gives a picture of ease and tranquillity utterly foreign to the hard and disappointing life which was his lot.

Penn made only two voyages to America; on his first voyage he arrived at New Castle (now Delaware) in October, 1682, and was back in England in October, 1684. His second voyage brought him to New Castle in December, 1699, and by December, 1701, he was again in England.

Pennsylvania did afford a refuge, as Penn had hoped, for Quakers and other dissenters, both from persecution in England and in some of the American Colonies. It became, too, a most successful place for trade and business. Yet, Penn's Colony was, on the whole, a distinct disappointment to him.

In England in 1705, at a time when he was disappointed by the actions of his son, William Penn Junior, he exclaimed " O, Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me? Above thirty thousand pounds more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child's soul almost."

The real interest in the life of William Penn is his character as shown by his actions, especially in his willingness to give up a life of personal

ease and pleasure for one of hardship and danger, because of his religious convictions.

He went to school at Chigwell, then to Christ Church College at Oxford, matriculating as a Knight's son, and in his second year in March, 1662, he was expelled from Oxford for his non-conformity. He then returned to London to receive the beatings of his vigorous father, at one time a vice admiral of the Fleet. Going to France, he came under the influence at Samur of the distinguished Protestant theologian Amyraut. For a short time in 1665 he read law at Lincoln's Inn.

Later, he met the Quaker Thomas Loe in Ireland, his father having invited Loe to speak to his family. And still later, in 1666, at a Quaker meeting at Cork, he listened again to Loe, who spoke on the theme "There is a Faith that Overcometh the World." It was at that time that he experienced his "convincement," and from then on he was a devout Quaker.

From the time he became a Quaker almost until his death, he suffered from many beatings and imprisonments because of his beliefs and was in effect a martyr for the cause he espoused. The author lists ninety-three of his more important writings, including the second "No Cross no Crown" of 1682.

The Fords falsified the accounts dealing with Penn's indebtedness, and finally in November, 1707, actually obtained judgment against him in the Court of Common Pleas, for which he was arrested and imprisoned as a debtor in the Fleet. Afterwards, the judgment of 14,000 pounds was settled for 6,600 pounds, which was advanced and paid by Penn's friends. In 1711 and 1712, Penn suffered two successive strokes, and from then until his death in 1718 he was an invalid, cared for by others.

There were boundary disputes between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, not only concerning the true line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, but also with respect to the ownership of what is now the State of Delaware.

In 1700 William Penn and Lord and Lady Baltimore went from the home of William Richardson on West River (my ancestor) to Tred Haven (Talbot County) to attend a yearly meeting of the Quakers held there. At that time the boundary disputes between Penn and Baltimore referred to by the author did not affect the personal relationship between them.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society has among its possessions a letter dated in the year 1683 from one of the Richardson family to William Penn complaining about claims made by Lord Baltimore for taxes. This evidently had to do with a dispute concerning the present Delaware.

Penn has been criticized by Maryland writers for his actions in the settlement of the Maryland-Pennsylvania line. But this is a subject which itself would require a separate study. So, too, a separate study is needed for the theological views of William Penn as contrasted with the particular theological views of his opponents and with the theological views current in his time.

The author has a pleasant narrative style and appears to be well posted even in such a field as law.

Penn's trial where the Judges tried to force a conviction by the jury is an excellent example of the growth of English law and the jury's final and stubborn verdict of "Not Guilty" is a story every lawyer should read to fix in his mind again the great value of trial by jury.

WALTER H. BUCK

The Lord's Oysters. By GILBERT BYRON. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957. x, 330 pp. $4.50.

In the above work the author, by using a fictional youth, Noah, as his medium, describes the growth and progress of a youth from childhood through his mid-teens, adroitly blending in him characteristics of other youths known to the author personally or through folklore.

Noah comes into being in a river-front county seat on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Though the name of the town is undisclosed, references to "High Street," the river bridge with its draw, the "Voshell House," and a trip to Baltimore on the Steamer *B. S. Ford* patently place its locale to an Eastern Sho' man, and no doubt to "furriners," "newcomers" to the Sho', its site is of little moment.

Noah's father, George, is an oyster tonger, one of the group of hardy sons of the Sho' that have made such a substantial contribution to its way of life and its development. George earned a sporadic livelihood from tonging, generally in season, and crabbing during the months without the letter "r," though sein nets were also on his annual agenda. His inherent philosophy— an individualist with complete freedom from fear and careless ease from worry—is rather typical of the waterman in the Tidewater Country. A counter-balancing influence is Noah's mother—a devoted wife, a frugal and capable housekeeper, singularly and realistically tolerant of her tonging husband, and deeply attached to Noah.

The era chosen relates to the early years of the present century, days when old "Dobbin," hitched to a runabout and headed homeward, if given the rein, would arrive safely. Through Noah telling the story of his own life, interwoven as it is, in dialogue form, with that of his father, his mother, his teachers, his neighbors and his companions, the author captures the spirit of the era in the group chosen for the story of Noah, not only through the events described, portraying as they do the old saying that "Boys will be boys," but also through the adept application of many by-words and adages then in vogue.

A work of genuine human interest, written by an author, who spent a "long childhood on Maryland's Eastern Shore," *The Lord's Oyster's* had a strong appeal to the writer of this review—a native Eastern Shoreman—who enjoyed several delightful evenings in a return home, so to speak.

EDWARD D. MARTIN

Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography. Edited by THOMAS D. CLARK. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956. 2 vols. $20.

The pen of the traveler takes its place alongside the brush of the artist in bringing out the customs, manners, activity and appearance of a country in detail. This distinguished bibliography places in the hands of the historian, biographer or novelist a convenient guide to the available accounts of travelers in America between 1527 and 1825. The chapters are topical and regional, prepared by authorities in the area concerned: "Spanish Travel in the South, 1527-1750," by A. B. Thomas, "The Southern Colonies, 1600-1750," by Hugh T. Lefler, "The South During Two Wars, 1750-1783," by Lester J. Cappon, "The Ohio Valley Frontier, 1750-1825," by John D. Barnhart, "The Post Revolutionary War South, 1783-1805," by William B. Hamilton, "The Lower Southern Frontier, 1806-1815," by Walter B. Posey, "The South in Expansion, 1816-1825," by Culver H. Smith. The bibliographical entries have been carefully prepared but the feature which makes them of special value to the researcher is the summary of the contents of each work and biographical data on its author. This study is a review of travel literature on America as well as a bibliography and makes good reading. For browsing, the work contains a mine of interesting aspects of American life.

History of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore, 1803-1957. By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS. Baltimore: Hibernian Society of Baltimore, 1957. 57 pp.

Founded in 1803 to assist emigrants arriving from Ireland, this benevolent Society of Hibernians has played an important role in Baltimore life ever since. The author, veteran newsman and authority on Baltimore history that he is, presents the story deftly and interestingly, and the saga of the Irish people of Baltimore moves through his story of the society. Good typography and illustrations enhance the story.

Guide to Baltimore and Annapolis. By A. AUBREY BODINE and HAROLD A. WILLIAMS. Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1957. 96 pp. Paper $1. Library Edition $2.25.

An up-to-date guide book to Baltimore and Annapolis has been needed very much in recent years. This guide book is a lavish fulfillment of that need. Each brilliant picture by Bodine, one of the nation's leading photographers, captures with fine artistry the interesting and beautiful sights of these Maryland cities. The text by Williams presents a crisp thumb-nail summary of history and facts about the things to see and a digest of useful information for visitors. This is the most attractive guide book ever published for Baltimore and Annapolis.

Century of Baltimore Architecture. An Illustrated Guide to Buildings Designed by the Members of the Baltimore Chapter, A. I. A., including An Index to Baltimore Architecture. By WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR., and CHARLES H. ELAM. Introduction by ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER. Baltimore: The Peale Museum, 1957. 48 pp. $1.

Covering the period from 1857 to about 1940, this booklet supplements *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* by Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer (1953) with much new information on Baltimore buildings and their architects. The pictures are reproduced with remarkable clarity and sharpness. The four page Index to *Baltimore Architecture* surveys the entire history of Baltimore architecture from the earliest times, giving street addresses, dates and architects.

Chesapeake Memories: Poems. By GEORGE SCHAUN. Annapolis: Greenberry Publications (101 Monticello Ave.), 1957.

Several of the poems in this collection have appeared previously in *The Lyric* and *The Lantern.* The poems are mostly on Maryland subjects or were inspired by Maryland scenes. Mr. Schaun is president of Greenberry Publications, a firm which is specializing in the local Maryland scene.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Daniel–Pleasants—I would like to know of any letters to or from John Moncure Daniel (1825-65), editor of the Richmond *Examiner,* and John Hampden Pleasants (1797-1846) editor of the Richmond *Whig.* Daniel was a native of Stafford County and did not marry. Pleasants was a native of Goochland County and married, first, Ann Irving, and, second, Mary Massie.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS,
A-2, Homewood Apts., Baltimore 18, Md.

Gerard–Matthews—Information is wanted on the family of Hannah Gerard who married Capt. Robert Ellyson of Maryland and Virginia (member of House of Burgesses, 1656-1663)—also, the parents of Elizabeth Matthews of Virginia who married John Ellyson, grandson of Capt. Robert Ellyson.

MRS. W. W. BODDIE,
540 Circle Way, Lake Jackson, Texas.

McMachen—Proof is wanted of the parentage of Samuel McMechen (McMachen), born in 1788, married in 1817, and died at Baltimore in 1830.

MISS HELEN B. MCMACHEN,
2219 Jules Street, St. Joseph, Mo.

Brent—Giles Brent and his sisters, Mary and Margaret, left Southern Maryland during the 1650's and settled in what later became old Stafford County, Virginia. It has been said that they took about twenty families with them. Will descendants of these families, or anyone who knows of such information, please contact me. I believe that the ancestors of Patrick Brown and Maria Heard who were married in Nelson County, Kentucky, in 1817 may be found among these twenty families.

MRS. EARL J. HUGGINS, JR.,
The Pines, R. 1., Holts Summit, Mo.

Nordendorf–Ide—In connection with my biography of Father Abram J. Ryan, poet-priest of the Confederacy, I need information on Professor Charles Chaky de Nordendorf and E. Louis Ide. Professor Nordendorf was on the faculty of Danville Female College, Danville, Va., at least from 1863 to 1866, and set to music Father Ryan's poem "The Sword of Robert Lee" in 1866. This poem was also set to music by Ide in 1867.

EDWARD A. EGAN,
7626 South Colfax Avenue, Chicago 49, Ill.

Portraits of Mountjoy Bayly and Edward Dyer—Likenesses of all former Sergeants at Arms of the United States Senate are being sought by the office of Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms, United States Senate, for the purpose of making suitable pictures to be hung in Sergeant at Arms office in the Capitol Building. Bayly was Sergeant at Arms from November 5, 1811, to December 9, 1833, and Dyer served from June 8, 1841, to December 9, 1845. Both were residents of Maryland. The Sergeant at Arms was the first elected officer of the Senate and there have been only twenty-one holders of this office since the first Congress.

Dolly Madison—The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madison or his wife, especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Please address *The Papers of James Madison,* 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Loubat Prizes—These prizes, established in 1892 through the generosity of Joseph F. Loubat, are awarded in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the History, Geography, Archaeology, Ethnology, Philology, or Numismatics of North America. The two awards, of the value of $1,200 and $600, are made by Columbia University at the close of every quinquennial period. To be considered for the 1958 award, books must be published before the first of that year. The announcement of the awards will be made in the spring of 1958. Communications in regard to the Loubat Prizes and works submitted in competition should be sent to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, by January 1, 1958.

CONTRIBUTORS

ERICH ISAAC served in the Israeli Army in the geographic research branch. In 1954 he entered the Isaiah Bowman School of Geography at the Johns Hopkins University and received his doctorate this year. His dissertation was on *The First Century of the Settlement of Kent Island.*

HENRY BERTRAM HILL is Chairman of the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin. His field of specialization is the constitutional history of France. LARRY GARA is Associate Professor of History at Eureka College, Illinois. He is author of a biography on Cyrus Woodman and specializes in nineteenth century American history. Professors Hill and Gara have divided the diaries of Henri Herz into sections corresponding to regions visited, which they are publishing in the journals most likely to be interested in the particular localities visited by Herz.

ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG (1877-1939), in addition to being Attorney-General of Maryland from 1920 to 1923, was Republican candidate opposing Governor Ritchie in 1924, and he was active in the American Bar Association, civic and social organizations, and was a director of several leading Maryland business concerns. Chief Judge EMORY H. NILES of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, an eminent Maryland jurist himself, has long been an admirer of Judge Alvey, and he was a friend of the late Mr. Armstrong.

ARTHUR HECHT of the National Archives has been working with postal records since 1948. He has compiled post office histories and has undertaken extensive research in post office operations.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL II, a Research Associate at Colonial Williamsburg, is currently working on the economic development of Virginia in the eighteenth century.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Evesham, A Baltimore Villa

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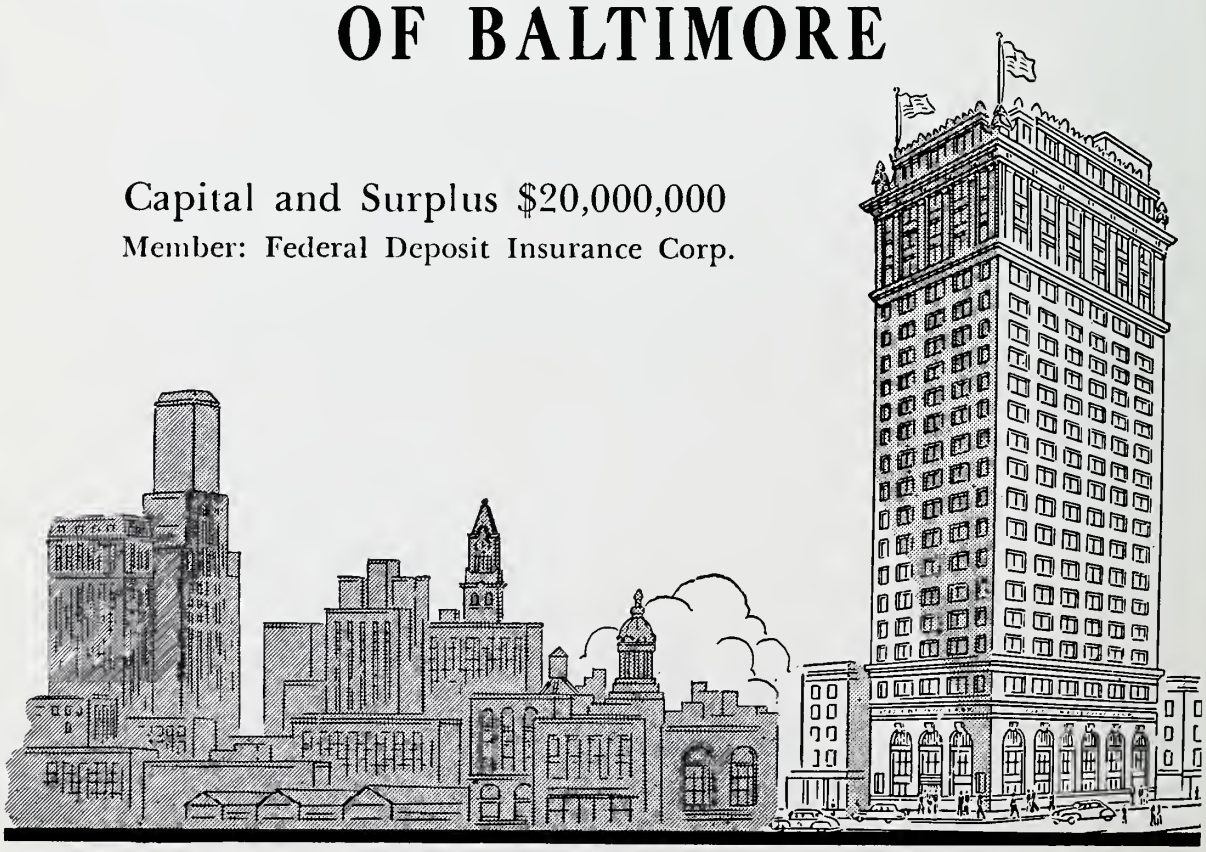

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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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George L. Radcliffe, President; James W. Foster, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are $8 and up, life membership $150. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes,* is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

By Hugh D. Hawkins

TRUSTEES are often the least noted of the creative forces in higher education. Many have agreed with Harvard's Swiss-born naturalist, Louis Agassiz, who said, "I believe there is no scientific man who will concede that there can be a University managed to the best advantage by anyone but those interested in its pursuits, and no body of trustees can be so interested." [1] But the original trustees of the Johns Hopkins University proved Agassiz wrong, and none more clearly than George William Brown, famous as mayor of Baltimore during the fatal riots of

[1] Quoted in Walter P. Rogers, *Andrew D. White and the Modern University* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1942), p. 145.

1861. Brown was one of twelve men left in charge of a bequest of three and one half million dollars—a sum larger than any previous grant to a university.[2] He and his colleagues had very nearly a free hand as to the type of institution they should build; in fact, the will of Johns Hopkins showed greater concern over the control and voting of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company stock bequeathed than over the nature of the university.[3] Brown is an outstanding example of the background in experience and thought that made these men capable of fulfilling their opportunity by launching an institution at the forefront of American higher education.

The Board of Trustees was made up of such unsung men of good will as breathe the best of themselves into some institution and lose individuality in the memory of future generations. They contributed in different and complementary ways to the building of the new university, and at different periods of time, different men took on the heaviest burdens. But if one were to name the leading trustee of the first two decades of the Johns Hopkins University, using as a criterion the instilling of lasting qualities of excellence into the institution, the award would probably go to George William Brown.

Brown was born on October 13, 1812, in Baltimore, the son of a merchant.[4] His father's father was an Irish physician who immigrated to Baltimore in 1783 and became an influential member of the community.[5] His mother's father, Patrick Allison, was minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore and a leader in the founding of St. John's College in Annapolis.[6] Although

[2] "The sum of $3,500,000 is appropriated to a university. . . . So far as I can learn, the Hopkins foundation, coming from a single giver, is without a parallel in terms or in amount in this or any other land." Daniel Coit Gilman, "The Johns Hopkins University in Its Beginning: An Inaugural Address: Baltimore, 1876," *University Problems in the United States* (New York, 1898), pp. 3-4. For a detailed breakdown of the Hopkins bequests, see *First Annual Report of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 10-11.

[3] John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 96-97; *Johns Hopkins University. Charter, Extracts of Will, Officers and By-Laws.* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 5-6.

[4] Information by Brown's son on a membership application sheet, MdHS.

[5] *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia.* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 398. Henceforth cited as *Representative Men of Maryland.*

[6] *Baltimore: Past and Present. With Biographical Sketches of Its Representative Men.* (Baltimore, 1871), p. 199; Bernard C. Steiner *et al.*, *History of Education in Maryland.* (United States Bureau of Education. Circular of Information No. 2, Washington, 1894), p. 99.

not a Quaker, Brown attended Joseph Lancaster's Quaker school in Baltimore, beginning when he was about eight. He later attended Baltimore City College, and in 1828, before he had quite reached the age of sixteen, he entered Dartmouth as a sophomore. Because of the death of his father and the financial stringency of his family, he had to withdraw from Dartmouth before the end of his first year; but an uncle sent him on to Rutgers, where he graduated at the head of his class in 1831.[7] After two years' study, he won admittance to the bar and in 1839 set up a law firm with Frederick William Brune. At the time of the death of Johns Hopkins this was the oldest law firm in the city. Also in 1839, he married his partner's sister. Five of their seven children were still living in 1879.[8]

Brown's long career of public service began when he joined a small band of volunteers to suppress the Bank of Maryland Riot of 1835. In 1842, he was one of those who spoke out against the resolutions which a "Slaveholder's Convention" had sent to the legislature urging the outlawing of manumission and the establishing of laws to drive free Negroes from Maryland. Brown and his collaborators argued that the whole bent of past legislation in Maryland had been to encourage manumissions and that to burden the free Negroes was impolitic and oppressive. The legislature refused to pass the slaveholders' measures.[9] In 1846, Brown participated in an abortive attempt to introduce gradual emancipation throughout Maryland.[10]

In a speech on lawlessness in March, 1853, Brown advocated these municipal reforms: a uniformed city police to replace watchmen and constables, a paid fire department to replace the violent volunteers, terms in the House of Refuge for juvenile delinquents, and elimination of straw bail. This powerful and far-sighted pronouncement made him a leader in the movement for municipal reform. In 1858, he joined in organizing a "Reform Association." He was probably this association's most successful poll-watcher in the election of that year, an election in which violence and corruption put the chauvinistic Know-Noth-

[7] Membership application, MdHS; Baltimore *American*, 7 Sept., 1890.
[8] *Baltimore: Past and Present*, p. 200; *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 393.
[9] *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 393.
[10] George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra vol. 3, Baltimore, 1887), p. 113.

ings in control of Baltimore. The fraud was so blatant that the state legislature passed a law sponsored by the Reform Association, providing safeguards for elections and entrusting control of the Baltimore police to a board of commissioners rather than the mayor. Largely because of this reform, the election in October, 1860, was a peaceable affair, and Brown was elected mayor on the independent reform ticket by a vote of two to one.[11] But the climax of sectional antagonisms at this time and the strategic location of Baltimore prevented Brown's tenure of office from being a peaceable progressive phase of strictly local history. He became a leading figure in the Baltimore riots which shed the first blood of the Civil War and spent more than half his term of office in prison.

After Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers on April 15, 1861, Baltimore grew tense and restive. Crowds stood day after day in front of two rival newspaper offices that took opposing views of Lincoln's call. Business was at a standstill. Aware of the potential threat to local peace, Mayor Brown issued a proclamation on April 17 asking citizens to abstain from any acts or words which might stimulate violence. But the excitement was too intense to be quelled by mere proclamations. The passage from one Baltimore railroad station to another of four companies of Northern militia on April 18 aroused the wrath of the mob in the streets. Impromptu meetings protested the war-like course of the federal government. Both the governor and Mayor Brown issued proclamations on April 18, counseling preservation of peace within Maryland and indicating that they were opposed to the use of Maryland troops for any invasion of sister states.

On the next day, April 19, one regiment from Massachusetts and one from Pennsylvania passed through the city. Again the troops had to transfer from one station to another. This was done by drawing single railroad cars by horses along a track down Pratt Street. As the isolated cars passed along this waterfront street, they were met first with jeers and hisses and then with paving stones. The crowd of outraged Baltimoreans grew in number and daring and finally placed obstructions on the track. Brown, who had been at the departure station, was informed of the

[11] *Baltimore: Past and Present*, p. 203; *Representative Men of Maryland*, pp. 393-394; Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, pp. 34, 34 n.

obstructive action of the mob and hurried out alone without waiting for a police escort. His commanding presence daunted the rioters so that the obstruction could be removed, but by that time, a battalion of the Massachusetts militia was marching down the mob-ridden street exchanging gunfire with the citizens. Brown hurried on till he met the troops, introduced himself to their commander, asked that they stop their double-quick step, and placed himself by the commander to march at his side.[12] As Brown related twenty-six years later, the commander said to him:

> " We have been attacked without provocation," or words to that effect. I replied, " You must defend yourselves." I expected that he would face his men to the rear, and, after giving warning, would fire if necessary. But I said no more, for I immediately felt that, as mayor of the city, it was not my province to volunteer such advice. Once before in my life I had taken part in opposing a formidable riot, and had learned by experience that the safest and most humane manner of quelling a mob is to meet it at the beginning with armed resistance.
>
> The column continued its march. There was neither concert of action nor organization among the rioters. They were armed only with such stones or missiles as they could pick up, and a few pistols. My presence for a short time had some effect, but very soon the attack was renewed with greater violence. The mob grew bolder. Stones flew thick and fast. Rioters rushed at the soldiers and attempted to snatch their muskets, and at least on two occasions succeeded. With one of these muskets a soldier was killed. Men fell on both sides.[13]

After accompanying the soldiers for about a third of a mile, Brown decided that his presence was helping neither citizens nor soldiers and stepped out of the column. A few moments later, Marshal Kane, head of the Baltimore police, arrived with a squad of his men. By forming a line behind the troops and drawing their revolvers, the police succeeded in turning the rioters back.[14]

Brown later addressed a huge public meeting in which he insisted that peace must be maintained in the city, that no state had the right to secede, but that it would be wrong to fight the seceding states and that they could not be conquered. He told the people that he and the governor had taken steps to prevent the passage of more troops through the city. This had been done by burning the railroad bridges by which entry to Baltimore could be gained from the north. The events of that day, the deaths of

[12] Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, pp. 35-49.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

four of the Massachusetts militia and twelve of the Baltimore citizens, had strong national ramifications. Brown himself felt that this shedding of blood was "a step . . . which made compromise or retreat almost impossible; then passions on both sides were aroused which could not be controlled." But also in Brown's personal development these were extremely trying and painful days. Although a different course of action can always be proposed as preferable after a crisis has passed, it is clear that his efforts to protect the troops, his part in burning the bridges, and his later contact with Lincoln in an effort to prevent a repetition of the tragedy[15] displayed courage, strong executive capacities, and presence of mind under fire. These characteristics were again called into use when he played a major role in the quieter drama of university building.

Although Lincoln maintained that Brown and the other officials involved had acted with perfect loyalty in these events,[16] on September 12 Brown, in addition to leading members of the Maryland legislature, editors, and other citizens, was arrested. He was not released until November 27, 1862, shortly after his term of office had expired. During this period of over a year, he was frequently offered his freedom, but he would not accept it under the special conditions set up. The principle which he and many of his fellow prisoners held to until released was

> that, if charged with crime, they were entitled to be charged, held and tried in due form of law and not otherwise; and that, in the absence of lawful accusation and process, it was their right to be discharged without terms or conditions of any sort, and they would submit to none.[17]

The government had offered freedom to those who would take a special oath of allegiance. Brown refused to do this, although he never impugned those who did.[18] Here too was a characteristic which his tenure as a Hopkins trustee again evoked: loyalty to his own principles without forcing them on others.

After his release from prison, Brown lived unmolested as one of Baltimore's outstanding lawyers. On October 22, 1872, he was elected chief judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore. The Democratic Conservative Party nominated him, but he was basi-

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 56-59, 61-63, 71-75.
[16] Severn Teackle Wallis to James A. Pearce, 18 July 1861, Pearce Papers, MdHS.
[17] Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, p. 109, quoting Severn Teackle Wallis in the New York *World*.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

cally an independent in politics and was unopposed for the office.[19] He held this office for a full term—until 1889. A special act of the legislature allowed him to remain in office after he passed the legal retirement age of seventy.[20] Twice after securing his judgeship, he sacrificed his leisure and comfort to answer what he felt to be calls of civic duty, and both times he met frustration. In 1878, he served as president of a special commission on reforming the city schools. The commission concluded that the ward system of choosing the School Board should be abolished and a non-partisan board set up, but the City Council did not put this plan into effect. In 1885 he ran for mayor on a fusion ticket of independent Democrats and Republicans, but was defeated by the regular Democratic candidate, James Hodges. One Baltimore newspaper claimed that he lost the election through fraud.[21]

Baltimore and Maryland held a high place in Brown's affection,[22] and aside from his professional and political career he served them by advancing the work of many cultural organizations. Before the Civil War, he was a member of the Baltimore chapter of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.[23] He was one of the founders of the Library Company of the Baltimore Bar and served as its president from 1861 to 1872. He was a founder of the Maryland Historical Society in 1844; a regent and faculty member (all faculty members were regents) of the University of Maryland, where he lectured on constitutional law from 1871 to 1872; a visitor of St. John's College; [24] and a trustee of the Peabody Institute from its beginning in 1857.[25] After his work as a trustee of the Johns Hopkins University began, he became also a trustee of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Johns Hopkins Hospital.[26]

[19] *Representative Men of Maryland,* p. 394.
[20] Unidentified clipping, Biographical File, MdHS.
[21] Baltimore *American*, 7 Sept. 1890.
[22] Arthur George Brown to Daniel Coit Gilman, 15 Oct. 1890, Gilman Papers, J. H. U. Library.
[23] Minutes of that organization, 1857-1858, MdHS.
[24] Steiner, p. 137; *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 394; Baltimore *Sun*, 14 April 1874; Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, *University of Maryland: 1807-1907: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of its Founders, Benefactors, Regents, Faculty and Alumni*, 2 vols. (New York and Chicago, 1907), I, 349.
[25] *The Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore. The Founder's Letters and the Papers Relating to Its Dedication and Its History, Up to 1st January, 1868.* (Baltimore, 1868), p. before p. 1.
[26] Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Launching of a University and Other Papers: A Sheaf of Remembrances* (New York, 1906), p. 31.

But a list of memberships and offices is a cold thing. The living George William Brown emerges more clearly in his ideas. A good example of how he developed his beliefs—beginning with a basis in custom and authority, but testing by his own experience—and of how he carried them out—peaceably, gradually, with thoughtful tentativeness—is given in his account of his attitude toward slavery:

> Both from feeling and on principle I had always been opposed to slavery—the result in part of the teaching and example of my parents, and confirmed by my own reading and observation. . . . My opinions, however, did not lead me into sympathy with the abolition party. . . . The problem of slavery was to me a Gordian knot which I knew not how to untie, and which I dared not attempt to cut with the sword. Such a severance involved the horrors of civil war, with the wickedness and demoralization which were sure to follow. . . . I did not believe in secession as a constitutional right . . . , although I did believe that . . . the South had constitutional rights in regard to slavery which the North was not willing to respect. . . . I thought that the seceding States should have been allowed to depart in peace . . . , and I believed that afterwards the necessities of the situation and their own interest would induce them to return, severally, perhaps, to the old Union, but with slavery peacefully abolished; for, in the nature of things, I knew that slavery could not last forever.[27]

This same conscious and thoughtful linking of conservatism and willingness to change is shown in Brown's attitude to his profession. When he retired from the bench in 1889, he said in his farewell speech:

> Although the conservatism of the law has passed into a proverb, it must be remembered that proverbs are never wholly true. In fact, the law is grandly progressive, and could not fail to be so, for it keeps pace with the increase of knowledge and the growth of the humanity and the sense of justice of the age. . . . Injustice according to rule has, thank heaven, ceased to be tolerated by the profession under antiquated forms of law.[28]

It was characteristic of Brown not to accept assertions without putting them to test. This was displayed for example in his attitude toward the liquor problem. "In my opinion," he said, "prohibition [local option] is worth trying. It is supposed to be impracticable in a large city, but that remains to be proved." [29]

[27] Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861,* pp. 113-115.
[28] Quoted in Baltimore *American*, 21 Oct. 1889.
[29] Brown to Lawrence Turnbull, 11 May 1881, copy in Gilman Papers.

In a speech in 1851 at his alma mater, Rutgers, Brown announced sorrowfully that he was " not an habitual wanderer in the pleasant and shady walks of literature," and explained that " a painstaking member of any one of the learned professions, so called, has scarcely more time for the pursuits of literature than the follower of the most humble and laborious calling. . . ." [30] But after winning his judgeship in 1872, Brown seems to have had leisure for intellectual pursuits. Certainly his letters to Daniel Coit Gilman show him alive to nearly all the currents of thought flowing into and out of the university. The natural sciences were furthest from his ken, but he did his best to keep informed even there. In the winter of 1850-1851, he had seen Foucault's pendulum in Paris, and had noted with pride the similar experiments which were quickly taken up at Harvard and Rutgers.[31] In the spring of 1883, he wrote modestly to Gilman, " I have to thank you or some one else for a copy of ' Science ' which interested me as far as I could understand it—& that was not much." [32] But his difficulties did not prevent him from exploring another copy of the same journal which Professor Henry Newell Martin lent him that December.[33] He took a deeper interest in political economy, and his open-mindedness in that field is shown in this comment about Richard T. Ely, at that time an associate at Johns Hopkins:

> Ely will not be pleased with the " Nation's " notice of his paper. It hardly does him justice. The critique represents the school of laissez-faire, to which I incline myself very strongly, but political Economy is not a completed science and the Historical School has something to say for itself.[34]

His interest in history was demonstrated as early as 1844, when he joined in forming the Maryland Historical Society, and his own venture into the subject, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, goes far beyond the range of personal reminiscence, displaying considerable research and critical evaluation. He wrote

[30] *The Old World and the New: An Address Delivered by George William Brown, Before the Philoclean and Peithessophian Societies of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., at Their Anniversary, on the 22d of July, 1851.* (New York, 1851), 7-8.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[32] Brown to Gilman, 3 May 1883, Gilman Papers.

[33] Brown to Gilman, 10 Dec. 1883, *ibid.*

[34] Brown to Gilman, 12 Aug. [1884], *ibid.*

this book in the faith that " every truthful contribution " was " not without some value." [35]

Out of this same faith in the value of " every truthful contribution " sprang his belief in education. In his speech at Rutgers when he was thirty-eight years old, he demonstrated that an alert interest in educational matters had served him well during a recent trip through Europe. He saw there an interest in art which he hoped America would in time acquire.[36] He found that in educational institutions abroad the instruction was " more thorough, and the range of studies is wider for those who desire to pursue a more extensive course." Modern languages were taught in addition to the classical. " All the appliances of study " were more numerous, especially great libraries. He found that in Paris the teachers were world-famous scholars and the course offered "embraced nearly the whole circle of human knowledge, from subjects the most abstruse and recondite, such as pure mathematics and the Hebrew, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Chinese languages, to those most practical in their character, such as agriculture and the application of chemistry to the art of dyeing." [37]

But he saw evils, too, in Europe's educational system. It tended to limit education and refinement to the few, leaving the many ignorant. " Art and learning," he pointed out, " instead of elevating, as they ought, the masses towards the higher classes, thus serve but to make a wider line of demarcation, and to cut off sympathy between them." Furthermore, " doubt and skepticism " descended " from the learned few to the unlearned many," and " rationalism in some countries and superstition in others " bred irreligion. American education at least reflected " the popular will," and this, Brown felt, was a true source of strength:

> Until . . . public sentiment takes a direction in favor of the highest intellectual culture and of the liberal arts, neither will be effectually provided for. But public sentiment will sooner or later take such a direction, and when it does, it will move onward with a power proportioned to the grandeur of our country, the vastness of our population, and the characteristic enthusiasm of our people. . . .
>
> There is nothing in republican institutions unfriendly to the successful cultivation of any branch of art, literature, or science. On the contrary, the history of the world seems to establish that the stimulus of freedom is

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[35] Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, p. 10.
[36] Brown, *The Old World and the New*, pp. 15-19.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

essential to the highest achievements of the human mind in every sphere of its exercise.[38]

Eighteen year later, in 1869, Brown could speak at St. John's College as if his prophecy were on the verge of fulfillment. He decried Maryland's utter lack of any reputable college and blamed the bad faith of the Maryland legislature for the inability of St. John's to meet the need, but he shared with his audience the secret that was glowing inside him:

> . . . a great university hereafter to be established in Baltimore, has been planned by the wealthiest of her citizens, a native of this county [Anne Arundel], and at some future day we may confidently expect that it will be so liberally endowed out of his large fortune as to enable it to take rank among the first and most useful universities in the land.

Brown was aware of the opportunities in the Hopkins bequest and intended to see them fulfilled in the most up-to-date manner possible. At least, such is the implication of his pointing out the good fortune of any institution of higher learning which was "not bound as closely as the institutions which have been longer organized, to the traditions of the past. In education as in everything else, methods change with the growth of knowledge and the changing wants of mankind." He described some of the new problems of education, which, seven years before the actual opening the Johns Hopkins University, he was studying and analyzing. What were the proper branches of learning to be taught and what the proper methods? Should Greek and Latin be partially or totally replaced by modern languages and Anglo-Saxon? Did the physical sciences and mathematics deserve more stress than they had been getting? Should the curriculum be broadened to allow greater entry of "mental and moral philosophy, logic, history, political economy and belles-lettres?" Since all these could not be covered adequately in four years, should the elective principle be admitted? If so, who should be allowed to do the electing? (He cited Goldwin Smith on the subject.) How could the problem of religious training be met? ("If a college is sectarian," he said, "it becomes almost necessarily narrow and one-sided; and if it is not sectarian, there is danger of its having no religion at all.") As to discipline, Brown saw the problem of choosing among a German university system of no control, a rigid military

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 35, 25, 27.

system involving individual responsibility and honor, and an "academical system" lying between these two. He wondered if the physical training should include military drill and if mechanical employment should be offered as it was at Cornell.

The new education should have two principal aims, Brown asserted. One of these, and to him the more important, was to send into the community "upright, refined, and highly cultivated young men." The other was what became the great differentiating quality of Johns Hopkins University and opened a new era in American education:

> . . . to bring together a competent corps of professors, some of whom, if possible, should be teachers in the largest sense, that is, should have the ability and the leisure too, to add something by their writings and discoveries to the world's stock of literature and science. . . .

In the light of these ideas of Brown's, expressed more than five years before Daniel Coit Gilman came to Baltimore, the first president must share the credit for wanting to make the Johns Hopkins America's first research-oriented university with at least this one trustee. As Brown analyzed the situation, America had the best informed general public in the world, but there was no high intellectual superstructure. The nation had "erected a temple without a dome, a column without a capital, a spire without a pinnacle." Scholars and learned men were badly needed in all fields, Brown asserted, but he chose to confine his detailed descriptions to literature and politics. In discussing the former he gave his university ideal most concisely:

> In order that we may have a nobler literature, and that our writers and thinkers, whether they be great geniuses or only gifted men, may occupy the same vantage-ground as those of the old world, with all the knowledge of the world within their reach, they should not only be highly educated scholars themselves, but have the quickening association of kindred minds, which is the very life of progress; and for such we must look to the colleges and universities of the land.[39]

As this university which Brown foretold, vaguely to his listeners at Rutgers and more concretely to the students at St. John's, grew and developed, having opened its doors in the fall of 1876, he applied to it the same steadfastness and tolerance which had

[39] George William Brown, *The Need of a Higher Standard of Education in the United States. An Address Delivered Before the Philokalian and Philomathean Societies of St. John's College* (Baltimore, 1869), pp. 8-15, 18.

marked his political and professional careers. When the Hopkins early met with success and achieved wide acclaim, he felt this fact " should strengthen the authorities to persevere steadily in our present course; with a willingness however always to listen to suggestions and to adopt improvements." [40] The university's dedication to truth without any ecclesiastical restraints was a source of pride to him,[41] and his deep and persistent interest made him a frequent visitor in its classrooms.[42]

In the now forgotten dispute in which Trustee John Work Garrett publicly insisted that the university should be moved from the city of Baltimore to Johns Hopkins' country estate of Clifton, it was Brown who wrote the open letter expressing the view of the majority that the modest physical plant in the city was directly related to the intellectual accomplishments of the institution. Garrett had questioned whether there had been any real achievements in the university's first seven years. In answer, Brown affirmed that it was " perhaps the noblest institution of learning ever created by an individual." He praised the restraint of Hopkins' will. Because the founder had left the trustees untrammeled, he maintained, the new university had escaped the fate of older and even of wealthier institutions. Of these, Brown said:

> . . . they are so hampered by tradition, or by the erection of expensive buildings, or by narrow-minded restrictions imposed by donors and founders, and sometimes by all of these together, that not one at this time is capable of doing the higher university work which the Johns Hopkins is steadily and regularly performing.

The public controversy, which Brown regretted, gave him an excellent opportunity to summarize the work of the university. He clarified for the public its basic function, aware that the dream of his Rutgers and St. John's speeches had become reality. He wrote:

> The stimulating effect, both on professors and students, of the system adopted by the Johns Hopkins is not generally understood in this country. In Germany it is otherwise, for there the accepted maxim is that a professor is dead when he ceases to write. Routine work is the besetting danger of colleges and universities, and can hardly be avoided where nothing is practiced except teaching what others have discovered and

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[40] Brown to Gilman, 12 Aug. 1882, Gilman Papers.
[41] Brown to Gilman, 1 Apr. 1890, *ibid.*
[42] Baltimore *American*, 7 Sept. 1890.

written. As a natural consequence of what has been accomplished, the Johns Hopkins has a very far larger number of advanced students than any college or university in the United States. More, I believe, than all together.

Besides citing the unique Hopkins contribution in graduate education, Brown was at pains to correct the misconception (prevalent to this day) that Hopkins either had no undergraduate program or neglected what it had:

> The undergraduate and post-graduate departments do not clash, but, on the contrary, lend to each other mutual support. The college leads up to the university, while the university is not only fed by the college, but imparts to it a portion of its own enthusiasm and love of study.

In this lengthy refutation of charges, the seventy-year-old Brown proved himself a vigorous and self-conscious participant in one of the greatest adventures in American higher education.[43]

Writing near the close of his life, after the Johns Hopkins had matured into one of the world's leading universities, Brown discussed his role in the Civil War. He felt that the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery were worth what they had cost. "And yet," he added, "I feel that I am living in a different land from that in which I was born, and under a different Constitution, and that new perils have arisen sufficient to cause great anxiety." These he enumerated as vast fortunes dishonestly acquired and selfishly used, loss of republican simplicity and growth of ostentation, loss of individual self-reliance, political rings and decline of popular interest in politics, demand for government paternalism, and centralization of power in the national government. "Some of these are the consequences of the war, and some are due to other causes. . . . The grave problems growing out of emancipation seem to have found a solution in an improving education of the whole people. Perhaps education is the true means of escape from the other perils to which I have alluded." [44] If education has proved or will prove to be the answer to the evils of industrialization, then to George William Brown should go a notable portion of the credit; for he labored earnestly and thoughtfully at the educational frontier when he helped construct the Johns Hopkins University.

[43] George William Brown, "The Hopkins Trust. A Reply to Mr. John W. Garrett," Baltimore *American*, 22 May 1883.

[44] Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, p. 116.

GUNPOWDER PRODUCTION IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY MARYLAND

By Arlan K. Gilbert

ALTHOUGH American colonists began producing small quantities of gunpowder as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, their efforts were grossly inadequate. Only small quantities of the explosive were made by crude household methods; no extensive powder mills existed to turn out tons of ammunition. The colonies were placed in a precarious position at the start of the Revolution, and more than ninety per cent of all powder had to be obtained from outside the country during the first two and a half years of the war.[1] Americans admitted that "for the present we must import from abroad," [2] but the inadequate output of domestic manufacturers brought about a realization of the acute need for an independence of foreign sources of supply. New mills were erected to meet the demands of the frontier and the economic requirements of a growing industrial America, and the powder industry became firmly established during the years following the Revolution.

The success of the young industry was due primarily to efforts in the Middle Atlantic states, where numerous powder mills were established during the half century following the war. The beginning of extensive powder-milling activity usually is associated with Eleuthère Irénée du Pont, who recognized the natural advantages of the Brandywine and began constructing his works near Wilmington in 1802. It was not Delaware, however, but Maryland, which first gained prominence with extensive gunpowder mills.

Recognizing the urgent demand for powder during the war,

[1] Orlando W. Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," *The American Historical Review*, XXX (1925), 277. William A. Ganoe in *The History of the United States Army* (New York, 1932), p. 6, claims that a hundred pounds of gunpowder could not be purchased in all the colonies at the beginning of the war.

[2] Robert T. Paine to Elbridge Gerry, June 10, 1775 (MS, New Jersey Historical Society).

the Council of Safety offered liberal proposals to anyone willing to erect the necessary mills in Maryland.[3] This encouragement resulted in a mill being built near Baltimore in August, 1775, and by the following year, saltpeter plants were in operation in Cecil County and in Harford County.[4] Arrangements were made with George Lindenberger and John McClellan to construct a powder mill near Baltimore in 1776, and John and Walter Hanson began erecting another in Charles County.[5] Additional would-be operators asserted to the Council of Safety that they would erect powder mills but never carried out their plans.

Construction of the first important powder works in Maryland was begun in 1790, when the Baltimore *Maryland Journal* carried a notice that "a Society of respectable Gentlemen of this place have raised an adequate Fund for the Establishment of an extensive Manufacture of Gunpowder . . . in the Vicinity of this Town."[6] Evidently there was little fear of the danger resulting from the close location of the powder mill, for the advertisement continued: "This important institution will not only prove highly advantageous to this state and Town, but may, if properly encouraged, become a National Benefit." Early in April, 1792, the newly erected mill exploded, and two or three of the workmen were injured. The owners immediately announced the following precautionary measure: "As there is considerable danger attending the Visits of careless People to the Works, no person will hereafter be permitted to view them, without the express Leave of a Proprietor, in Writing."[7]

[3] An advertisement by the Council of Safety in the *Maryland Gazette* on August 31, 1775, gave encouragement to anyone building a powder mill near Baltimore. See also Edward Spencer, *A Sketch of the History of Manufactures in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1882), p. 22.

[4] The Gunpowder River, despite its appellation, evidently was not a site for early powder mills, although it was one of the oldest place names in Maryland. William B. Marye, "Perry Hall History" (Upper Falls, 1922), p 3.

[5] Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, 1948), p. 142. The expense account at the Maryland Historical Society for the construction of the Hanson mill during the Revolution contains the following items: "Nails, Hinges and other work done by the smith; Brandy furnished the men when working in water; Timber for boards, shingles and other articles; Carting of Scantling, boards, shingles, stone, shells and sand for Brick. . . ." For a list of individuals from whom the state of Maryland purchased gunpowder during the war, see "An Account of Monies Paid for Ammunition Purchased by the State of Maryland," February 9, 1776-May 17, 1781 (Maryland Historical Society).

[6] November 23, 1790.

[7] *Maryland Journal*, April 10, 1792. An earlier explosion occurred on October 17, 1783, in the yard of a Mrs. Clement in Baltimore, where some gunpowder had been placed to dry. Three boys, two of them Negroes, went into the yard to clean

Despite safety measures, powder mills in Maryland, like those in other states, were demolished time after time by the accidental ignition of their own product. Their existence constantly was susceptible to rapid termination, and the mill owners were keenly aware of "the danger and risk always attending that kind of business." [8] Friction, faulty machinery, sparks, lightning, spontaneous combustion, and carelessness were only a few of the many causes of explosions. Incorporation of the ingredients—saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur—remained the most dangerous step, despite the replacement of stampers by rolling wheels.[9]

Another powder mill in the vicinity of Baltimore was erected in 1791 by a company organized the year before; Robert Gilmor, John O'Donnell, Stephen Wilson, John Holmes, and several others were members of the firm.[10] The mill, located on Gwynns Falls, three miles from Baltimore, rapidly attained prominence and attracted the attention of the Du Pont Company.[11] During the War of 1812, William Lorman, head operator, successfully obtained orders from the government.[12] On September 17, 1812, however, a severe accident occurred, and a considerable amount of powder made for the government was destroyed. The fire, originating in the saltpeter refinery, fortunately was discovered in time to permit the workmen to escape unharmed.[13] George

their pistols. One of them carelessly fired his pistol near the powder, causing it to blow up. One boy was killed and the other two seriously injured. *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 25, 1783.

[8] Answer of E. I. du Pont to Peter Bauduy, c. 1818 (Longwood Foundation Library), pp. 8-9. The storage, as well as the manufacture of gunpowder, was extremely dangerous. Consequently, the city of Baltimore was given the power in 1797 "to erect & provide Magazines for the storage of all gunpowder brought to the city or precints [sic] and to compel the same to be stored in the said Magazines." Before this date, the Maryland Fire Insurance Company had control over the safe storage of powder in Baltimore. James McHenry to Henry Dearborn, March 20, 1804 (McHenry Collection, Maryland Historical Society).

[9] Stamping mills were prohibited in England in 1772 because of their danger. Arthur Marshall, *Explosives: Their Manufacture, Properties, Tests and History* (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 16.

[10] J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia, 1861-68), II, 23; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 433.

[11] Vincent Boural to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, March 29, 1808 (Longwood Foundation Library).

[12] Lorman to E. I. du Pont, March 13, 1812, in Bessie G. du Pont, ed., *Life of Eleuthère Irénée du Pont from Contemporary Correspondence* (Newark, Del., 1923-26), IX, 28.

[13] Niles' *Weekly Register*, September 19, 1812. Although not all powder makers took the time to make their own saltpeter, they usually refined it themselves, for the quality of the finished gunpowder depended upon the purity of the primary ingredient. The refining process consisted of putting crude saltpeter into a vat, covering

Mayers, manager of the mills, described vividly the disaster in the following account, valuable because of its detailed information about one of the earliest extensive powder mills in the United States:

On Thursday evening, the 17th inst. . . . a fire broke out in the saltpetre-refinery, the awful effects of which are but too distinctly seen & too severely felt by the proprietors of this valuable establishment. Peter Anderson, who was on the spot, at the time, says he saw a fire on the kirbing of the boiler, about the size of his hand; but before he could get water to extinguish it, it communicated to the floor above. I was some distance from the refinery, when the alarm was given, & saw a dark smoke ascending; when I got to the house, it was on fire, above & below; I quenched it, below, & endeavour'd to do so above. The workmen procured a ladder, to enable them to throw water on the upper floor; but the smoke increas'd & the fire spread with such astonishing rapidity, that it was found to be impracticable. I endeavour'd to throw water on the side of the roof next to the falls—but the nitre had begun to melt—& the water falling on it caus'd a number of slight explosions, which compell'd me to desist. Some strove to cut away the roof, but the heat & smoke drove them away. From the time the fire was discover'd till the house was-of-a-blaze was not more than 4 or 5 minutes.

I now saw it was impossible to save the houses; as the store-house join'd them & contain'd a quantity of sulphur—st. petre—st. petre-bags—barrels & lumber; & a variety of other combustible matter; & between the store & packing houses—a quantity of plank timber, &c. The houses being close together, the destruction of the whole was inevitable. My family being much alarm'd, I hasten'd to the dwelling to hurry them off. Several of the men continued to exert themselves to save the property—throwing water on the rooves—cutting the store-roof—carrying powder (12 bbls. which were lost) from the packing-house to the lane &c. As soon as I caution'd my family, I press'd the men to depart; & with difficulty persuaded them of their imminent danger, the fire being now on the store-house roof—they at last moved—& shortly happen'd the first tremendous explosion—which was succeeded by those of the three mills—the shocks were exceedingly severe—a vast quantity of smoke now cover'd the ruins, & adjoining ground to a considerable distance. As soon as the smoke was a little dispers'd, I could discern the drying-house, standing—with the roof flat on the upper-floor, & on fire.[14] I thot all was over & approached—but

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it with water, and placing it over a low fire. The mass was stirred until all the saltpeter dissolved, and as the scum rose to the top, it was taken off. This boiling was repeated as often as necessary. "On the Manufacture of Salt Petre," in James Mease, ed., *Archives of Useful Knowledge*, III (1813), 92-93.

[14] The drying house produced artificial heat to remove moisture from the grains of gunpowder. Although large powder works had extensive drying houses, most mills used only small rooms warmed by a stove. See *The Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, new series, II (1814), 317. Powder also could be dried on large tables exposed to the sun.

soon perceived it had not exploded; the men however return'd to extinguish the fire on the upper-mill. I call'd repeatedly to them to make their escape, but to no purpose, they either did not hear me, or did not attend. The fire on the drying-house increas'd, & I escaped but a small distance—when it blew up with a tremendous report. The scene was awfully sublime; the air was fill'd with flaming matter, resembling sky-rockets play'd off by immense fireworks—what sensations of horror fill'd my agitated mind—destruction with its horrible visage seem'd on every hand. I expected every man in the yard to be number'd with the dead—but in this I was happily mistaken—none were hurt. It is owing to their industry that the upper-mill is still standing.

Much cr.[edit] is due to Mr. Lucas, Mr. Rall, & some of the powder-makers for their great & hazardous exertions, in the most critical moments. They were in & about the mill when the drying-house blew up—but were not aware of their danger. Several of our neighbours now assisted us in bringing water to extinguish the fire; which was happily effected.

The machinery of the upper-mill is in tolerable order—some of the stampers are burnt—the mortar block & bolting-cloths are lost—the wheels & stones are all good—the wall is not much injured—but the roof, windows, & doors are ruin'd. The water-wheel of the granulating mill [15] is somewhat injured from the fall of the wall, but I believe nearly all the other wheels & shafts are good—the house is destroy'd—the water-wheel of the lower mill is all that is saved of it—excepting the wall, the front of which is injured. The magazine, coal,[16] & dwelling houses are materially injured—the packing & drying houses are entirely ruin'd—the walls of the st. petre-house & part of those of the store-house are standing—the large & one square, copper-boiler are not injured—the melting kettle [17] is good—and, excepting three, the iron kettles appear to be on good order. . . . The kettle for refining sulphur is safe—one stove belonging to the drying house is whole—the other one has one plate broken—the

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[15] Powder was cut into grains of various sizes in the granulating mill. A simple graining procedure used during the Revolution made use of a sifter "with a sheepskin bottom, burnt full of holes . . . which, being moved to and fro, will force the powder through the holes, and form the grain. . . ." Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, February 16, 1776. E. I. du Pont patented a graining machine on November 23, 1804, which consisted of a revolving copper barrel, pierced with holes the size of powder grains.

[16] "Coal" refers to charcoal, another ingredient of gunpowder. Charcoal made from light woods, such as willow, alder, and poplar, is most suitable, for it can be finely divided, absorbs little moisture from the air, is readily inflammable, and leaves little ash after combustion. The wood was used in the form of branches about an inch in diameter, cut in the spring and stripped of their bark; the branches then were baked to form charcoal. Lammot and/or Alfred du Pont, undated notebook on the method of manufacturing gunpowder (Longwood Foundation Library).

[17] Kettles were used both for refining saltpeter and for sublimating sulphur. After crude sulphur was melted in an iron pot over a low fire, it was strained through a double thickness of cloth. George Napier, "Observations on Gunpowder," *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures*, II (1795), 284.

irons belonging to the new grinding mill are all found; but the harden'd ones have lost their temper, which may easily be restor'd. The mill which was building is much injured. The cog-wheels are not much so—the water-wheel is considerable torn—but it would not be very expensive to repair it. The floors are tolerable; but the principal part of the wall is broken.

I have now given as correct an account of this terrible accident as possible—as well as the present state of the apparatus. Now, must beg leave to address myself to the worthy proprietors of this once valuable factory. The loss is indeed exceedingly great, who can view it without the strongest emotions of sorrow. I feel with the keenest sensibility my best designs frustrated. . . . I humbly hope no blame will be attach'd to me—I feel a consciousness of having done my best endeavours, both to preserve the mills & other parts from accident, & to economize things as much as possible. I should indeed have been guilty of the vilest ingratitude to have done otherwise. . . .[18]

William Lorman, head operator, explained that "explosion succeeded explosion—till every mill on the place, with the Drying house & packing house, were demolished or nearly so."[19] In a letter to E. I du Pont on September 26, Lorman indicated that the accident had not been intentional: "I am happy to state to you, that I believe it did not originate from design. No stranger had been at the mills the day of the accident—nor were there any persons about the place upon whom suspicion could rest." Perhaps DuPont, interested in protecting his own property, feared that Lorman's mills had been blown up by a supporter of the English cause in the war. The editor of the *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, aware of the urgent need for powder, claimed that "the *times* and the merit of the owners, cause this accident to be much regretted."[20] Suffering a loss of twenty thousand dollars, the proprietors decided to "decline rebuilding the mills,"[21] and the history of the works ended with the 1812 disaster.[22]

[18] Mayers, "Narrative of the Destruction of the Balt. Powder works" (MS at Hagley Museum received as gift from Lammot du Pont Copeland in January, 1957). Mayers' document contains information about early powder mills difficult to find elsewhere.

[19] Lorman to E. I. du Pont, September 26, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library). The *Federal Gazette* of September 18, 1812, reported that five or six buildings were demolished by the accident.

[20] September 19, 1812.

[21] Lorman to E. I. du Pont, September 26, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library).

[22] Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 29. E. I. du Pont wrote to William Lorman at Baltimore on March 5, 1814, commenting that the latter had since "given up this Kind of

Other extensive powder works, the Bellona mills, were established on Jones' Falls, about seven miles from Baltimore, in 1800 or 1801. Although gaining a national reputation under the ownership of James Beatty, the firm experienced a series of crippling disasters. The first occurred on November 18, 1801, when a workman took " the burning snuff of a lamp-wick " in his fingers and threw it hastily into a heap of powder:

> The explosion was instantaneous—the house [mill], 30 by 40 feet, with every atom in it, was mounted in the air. Of the roof, not a vestige can be found; and the walls, which were of massy stone, are levelled with the ground. The man who was least injured, says, the first place he found himself in, after the return of his senses, was the mill-race, without knowing, for a while, what could have placed him there.[23]

In September, 1812, a large quantity of saltpeter was destroyed when the refinery of the Bellona mills burned. The flames were intense, and sparks spreading to the roofs of four adjacent powder mills caused them to explode. The sulphur storehouse also caught fire and was totally destroyed with all its contents.[24] Despite the accident, the Bellona firm became the leading Maryland producer and competed actively with E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company. By 1814, the product was " warranted to be fully equal . . . to any at Market." [25] In the following year, E. I. du Pont stated that " one of our principal motives is to strive against the competition of the Baltimore factories." [26]

On August 29, 1820, the Bellona mills were rocked again by a severe explosion, which produced a shock felt in Washington. At least three workers were killed, and others severely wounded.[27] One laborer was blown three hundred yards from the mill in which he was working, and " his head, body, legs and arms, in detached pieces, [were] found in several directions! " [28] The *Federal Gazette* on August 30 reported that the powder yard was

business." Letter Book of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, Old Stone Office Records (MS, Hagley Museum). The abbreviation L. B. will be used in subsequent citations.

[23] *New-York Evening Post*, November 24, 1801.

[24] Alfred Victor du Pont to Benjamin Gerhard, July 20, 1850, in Allan J. Henry, ed., *The Life of Alexis Irénée du Pont* (Philadelphia, 1945), I, 152.

[25] *Sentinel of Freedom*, April 19, 1814.

[26] To A. C. Cazenove, March 29, 1815, L. B.

[27] *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 30, 1820; *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 1, 1820.

[28] Niles' *Weekly Register*, September 2, 1820.

"a scene of awful and utter desolation." The stamping mill, drying room, graining mill, and packing house were seriously damaged,[29] and James Beatty was not certain whether or not he should rebuild. He was greatly discouraged by his failure during previous years to receive as profit more than three per cent of his investment, which was not nearly enough to cover losses from explosions.[30] According to E. I. du Pont, "A Powder manufacturer who would only clear 10 pr. ct. of his capital, which in any other business would be a reasonable profit, would be sure to go to ruin one day or another, as he would not be able to bear the losses occasioned by explosions." [31] Realizing that complete rebuilding of the damaged structures would require both time and energy, Beatty in the 1820 census listed his profit as variable due to "casualties in the Machinery & Buildings." [32]

After beginning to repair the mills, Beatty was handicapped again when a serious explosion took place on October 15, 1821. Four persons, including the manager, were killed, and two others were injured.[33] Another workman was killed by a minor explosion on January 23, 1830, but Beatty recovered quickly from the financial loss and could compete with other leading firms by June.[34] E. I. du Pont, realizing the strength of the Bellona establishment, was unwilling in 1831 to surrender completely his sales in Maryland: "Nevertheless we should not like to give up altogether the Baltimore market on account of the competition of Mr. Beaty [Beatty]." [35] The Bellona mills were rebuilt following a subsequent accident on April 19, 1833, only to be damaged by

[29] All of the buildings included in the 1820 census figures were damaged badly. Twenty-three men at this time were employed in the operation of the mills. Fourth United States census, 1820, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce).

[30] Bradford & Cooch to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, August 30, 1820 (Old Stone Office Records, Hagley Museum).

[31] To P. P. F. de Grand, June 22, 1821, L. B. Financial strain placed upon powder manufacturers by explosions was very great, for the expense of repairing and rebuilding the mills had to be met at the same time that production rates were lowered. Borrowing, rapid rebuilding, and extension of sales enabled many operators to recover from explosions.

[32] Fourth United States census, 1820, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce).

[33] J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 400.

[34] *New-York Evening Post*, January 27, 1830; E. I. du Pont to Patrick Durkin, June 21, 1830, L. B .

[35] To Bradford & Cooch, April 2, 1831, L. B. Du Pont sold a considerable quantity of powder in Baltimore, "where our powder obtained a decided preference at the very door of Beatty's factory." E. I. du Pont to John A. Forsyth & Co., November 26, 1827, L. B.

other explosions until 1856,[36] when the site finally was sold to the city of Baltimore for its waterworks. The stream was dammed, so that most of the old mill area is now covered by Lake Roland. The name of the powder works still is preserved, however, in Bellona Avenue.[37]

Another powder mill of importance was located about seven miles from Baltimore and operated by a Mr. Levering. The establishment is first mentioned in 1808, and by 1811 Levering was selling his product at such low rates that the Du Pont Company was forced to reduce its prices.[38] On October 4, 1817, the property was destroyed by three successive explosions, creating a shock throughout Baltimore. Five workers were killed instantly, and four others were injured seriously by the ignition of two hundred barrels of gunpowder. One of the foremen believed that the workmen "must have accidentally carried some sparks into the mill, which . . . alighted upon the sleeves of their coates, or . . . upon their pantaloons." [39] The escape of one of the survivors was most miraculous: "He was blown by the first explosion . . . from one mill on the roof of another; another explosion immediately afterwards ensued, by which this unhappy victim of the second explosion was thrown on the water wheel, and from thence into the stream." [40] The difference in time between the various explosions was caused by the spreading of the flames from the burning rafters and beams of the first mill to the adjoining buildings. Fortunately, the fire did not ignite the powder magazine, but property damage was estimated at forty thousand dollars. E. I. du Pont indicated the severity of the explosion when he

[36] *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 24, 1833; *Delaware Gazette*, April 23, 1833. On March 6, 1840, the drying house blew up with a loud explosion, reported to have been felt as far as Chestertown. *The Sun*, March 18, 1840. Two persons were killed in another disaster on May 30, 1848. Scharf, *Chronicles*, pp. 527-528.

[37] James Beatty, owner of the mills, gave the name "Bellona" to the powder works for the Greek goddess of war, because his daughter was born on the day of the Battle of Waterloo. See column by Carroll Dulaney, *Baltimore News-Post*, July 9, 1937. The Bellona mills quickly sank into oblivion, and on January 24, 1936, Edmond Fontaine wrote in the *Baltimore News-Post*: "After years of inquiry I cannot find any one who knows much about the powder factory." Information about Beatty, an influential and respected citizen of Baltimore, is contained in the biography file of the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

[38] Briscoe and Partridge to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, September 13, 1811 (Longwood Foundation Library). Du Pont wrote on September 6, 1817 to Vaughan & Dahlgren that the explosives he sold at Baltimore were "the lowest powder we have ever sold." L. B.

[39] *Federal Gazette*, October 6, 1817.

[40] *Ibid.*

stated that it " put out of the market one of our largest competitors." [41]

Another Maryland powder maker was Thomas Ewell, who established a mill near Bladensburg in 1811. Not being a professional powderman, Ewell needed much technical assistance if his mill was to succeed. After securing sizeable government contracts, he pleaded with E. I. du Pont for help in filling them—either in the form of a good superintendent or a partnership.[42] Du Pont, however, refused to aid Ewell, who continued to plead for assistance and became abusive when his requests were turned down: " Are you alarmed that the manufactory of Essone [powder works of the French government] which you have copied is about to be introduced over all the U. States? And that the eyes of the people will be soon opened to the impudence of the pretensions of the exclusive powder-makers of Brandywine? " [43] Forced to admit that he did not understand the technical problems of making powder, Ewell advertised in newspapers for a capable superintendent for his mills.[44] He even tried to entice workmen from the Du Pont mills:

> A preference will be given to those who have worked at the manufactories in the United States, made on the principles of the French establishment at Essonne and at L'isle de France, and as an inducement for the best hands to come on, there shall be a regular promotion in the establishment from the more laborious work and low wages to better situations. . . .[45]

Wearied by Ewell's attempts to bribe his laborers, Du Pont referred to the Bladensburg manufacturer as " a kind of crack

[41] To William Cornell, October 28, 1817, L. B.

[42] Ewell to du Pont, December 8, 1811 (Henry B. du Pont Collection, Longwood Foundation Library). The various Baltimore mills at this time were receiving the largest proportion of government orders for powder. See du Pont to Ewell, December 14, 1811 (Henry B. du Pont Collection, Longwood Foundation Library). Ewell, however, hoped to obtain " all the favor heretofore shewn to the Baltimore mills," since the " government had *pledged* itself to give very particular patronage to my manufactory near Washington." To E. I. du Pont, December 22, 1811 (*ibid.*).

[43] Ewell to DuPont, April 12, 1812 (Henry B. du Pont Collection, Longwood Foundation Library).

[44] In the *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 14, 1812, Ewell advertised for an " able superintendent of character—the highest salary will be given to one who can act in that capacity." He needed information about such matters as the size of saltpeter kettles, the amount of water to be added in grinding powder, and the method of punching holes in leather to granulate powder. Letter to Charles Munns, November 24, 1811 (Longwood Foundation Library).

[45] *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 14, 1812.

brained fellow . . . who with all the bombast published by him in the newspapers is obliged to offer to some poor rough Irishmen of our factory $8 or 900 per year for all the science which is to set up his factory above all others. . . ." [46] Ewell resorted to writing letters to various workmen in his attempt to secure a labor supply, but with no success. He finally got some laborers by declaring that his mill belonged to the United States government.[47]

Because of the great demand for skilled powder workers, it was not unusual for manufacturers to entice other owners' laborers away from them. The Ewell case is far from being an exception. It is probable that many of the Baltimore powder mills used workers who had been trained at the Du Pont establishment. At least one former Du Pont employee, John Hagherty, worked at the Bellona mills.[48] In 1816 Pierre Samuel du Pont made the exaggerated claim that each of the twenty-five mills in Pennsylvania had been " formed by workmen enticed from us." [49] Learning from experience to safeguard information, E. I. du Pont made it a policy to prevent " intelligent workmen " from seeing his machinery.[50]

After obtaining a crew of powdermen, Thomas Ewell operated his mill efficiently, although much of the powder was of poor quality.[51] By November, 1812, he would have been willing to let somebody else take the risk of making gunpowder.[52] A month

[46] To William Lorman, April 2, 1812, L. B. Ewell also attempted to bribe workers in Stephen Decatur's mill at Belleville, New Jersey. Decatur to E. I. du Pont, July 17, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library).

[47] Public statement by E. I. du Pont concerning the Ewell affair, June 16, 1812, in Bessie G. du Pont, *op. cit.*, IX, 33-36. Despite Ewell's claim, the government of the United States, unlike foreign countries such as England and France, did not have its own powder works. During the Revolutionary War, the government imported most of its powder, but after that it increased greatly the number of contracts with domestic manufacturers. The Ordnance Department, established on May 14, 1812, had the duty of inspecting the powder purchased from private individuals. Numerous arsenals were established, but a national gunpowder factory was never constructed. See " Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Office Chief of Ordnance " (typescript, n. d., National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch), p. 1 ff.

[48] E. I. du Pont to Samuel Wetherill and Company, October 13, 1826, L. B.

[49] To wife, December 14, 1816 (Longwood Foundation Library).

[50] To William Kemble, November 29, 1821, L. B.

[51] Thomas Law to E. I. du Pont, December 1, 1812, in Bessie G. du Pont, *op. cit.*, IX, 66.

[52] Ewell's " works are to be given for the risque of making the powder for one year." Law to E. I. du Pont, November 14, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library). By this time, Ewell was considered " a favorite, as his manufacture brings money to the City by employing hands." *Ibid.*, December 25, 1812.

later, he suffered the only accident on record when the drying house with two thousand pounds of powder exploded,[53] but production was not lowered.

On December 7, 1813, Ewell received a patent for the manufacture of gunpowder, which listed three improvements: boiling the ingredients by steam, a method of incorporating them with rollers, and a technique for granulating the powder.[54] These three advancements, according to Ewell, would "most truly diminish more than one half the risk, the waste and the expence of the manufacture." [55] Most important of the improvements was the wheel for incorporating the ingredients—saltpeter, sulphur, and charcoal. Soon wheel mills became regular equipment in the United States, although a few of the more dangerous stamping mills persisted until the early twentieth century.[56] In spite of his patent, however, Ewell could not make a success of his business. In 1817 his property was offered for sale, and the enterprise came to an abrupt end.[57]

Another powder mill near Bladensburg was operated by David Bussard. On April 18, 1817, the first accident occurred when powder in the pounding mill ignited, probably from friction:

> Two men passed in a moment from time to eternity, and two others were dreadfully mangled or wounded—the one a white man with a family, the other a man of color. The injury to the works, it is understood, cannot be repaired at a less expence than five thousand dollars. The explosion, it is believed, occasioned no injury beyond the limit of the works.[58]

A second accident at Bussard's establishment on July 8, 1818, killed four or five persons, but a magazine of powder a short distance from the explosion was "miraculously preserved." [59] The Ordnance Department of the United States government reported on July 18 that Bussard's "powder works having been lately

[53] Law to du Pont, December 25, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library).
[54] Bishop, *op. cit.*, II, 200.
[55] Advertisement in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, December 30, 1813. See also Thomas Ewell, "Gunpowder," *The Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, new series, II (1814), 317-318.
[56] Arthur P. Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter, *History of the Explosives Industry in America* (New York, 1927), p. 121.
[57] Bessie G. du Pont, *E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, a History, 1802-1902* (New York, 1920), p. 39. In the *Daily National Intelligencer* on July 9, 1817, Ewell offered for sale his powder works, which were "on an extensive plan . . . in complete order. . . ."
[58] *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 19, 1817; *Federal Gazette*, April 21, 1817.
[59] *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 10, 1818.

destroyed at Bladensburgh by an explosion, renders him incapable of fulfilling the engagement [contract]." [60] Bussard recovered from the accident, however, and was able to continue making contracts with the government for quantities as high as forty thousand pounds.[61]

The 1820 census contains information about an additional powder establishment in the Baltimore area—the Aetna Gunpowder Company.[62] Located about four miles from the city, the Aetna mills employed twenty men to operate two stamping mills with thirty-six mortars, a graining mill, a refinery, a drying house, and four magazines. The mills were described as having been "in constant operation near seven years, and preserved from accident." [63] The good fortune did not continue, for on September 25, 1824, a serious explosion resulted in heavy damage, the extent of which was estimated at five thousand dollars. The blast, attributed by the owners to an incendiary, took place in

> the principal building of the factory, amidst several hundred pounds of the combustible materials, and was so violent in its effects as to blow to atoms the house and machinery, even to the foundations. The workmen had suspended all operations and closed the mill at sunset, and were totally unaware of the explosion until it had occurred. One of the workmen had a very narrow escape from the fragments of the mill—but providentially no one sustained personal injury. The report and shock were distinctly heard and felt throughout the city. . . .[64]

Recovering from the disaster, the Aetna mills continued to rank among the leading Maryland powder producers.[65]

[60] *Report of the Select Committee . . . Ordnance Department* (Washington, 1821), p. 22.

[61] On August 1, 1818, Bussard agreed to deliver forty thousand pounds to the government within three years. He made another contract for thirty-five thousand pounds on August 30, 1822. Notebook of contracts and records relating to the procurement of ordnance and ordnance stores, October, 1812-May, 1829 (National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch). Bussard served as justice of the peace in Georgetown and was a trustee of the Georgetown Poorhouse. Josephine Cobb, Curator of Columbia Historical Society, to author, April 2, 1957.

[62] Another powder mill, owned by the firm of Williams and Stull, was located at Bladensburg. Williams and Stull wrote to E. I. du Pont on July 9, 1816, and offered to sell their mills: "They are in very complete order & being at the seat of Government gives them many advantages. We have done very well with them since they have belonged to us, which is about three years." (Longwood Foundation Library).

[63] Fourth United States census, 1820, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce).

[64] *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 27, 1824.

[65] E. I. du Pont to Bradford & Cooch, July 28, 1829, L. B. *The Baltimore Directory, Corrected up to June 1829* (Baltimore, 1829), p. 276, contains the fol-

Although handicapped by severe explosions, Maryland powder manufacturers succeeded in producing large quantities of explosives in the post-Revolutionary period. The mills in the state marked "a change in the powder industry from one having more or less a 'homespun' or local character to one of national importance and magnitude." [66] Early in the nineteenth century, the growing industry expanded from Maryland to include the other Middle Atlantic states. As early as 1791, Alexander Hamilton reported that "no small progress has been . . . made in the manufacture of this very important article." [67] In 1807, the Baltimore powder agent of the Du Pont Company wrote to Wilmington: "The market here is fully supplied by the powder made at the manufactories in the neighbourhood of this place, which has latterly been found to be of a very good quality and given every satisfaction to purchasers." The agent concluded his report by observing that "the importations of English powder into this place for a long time past have been very inconsiderate." [68]

The 1810 census figures, which give the first summary of powder production, list Maryland as manufacturing over a fifth of the nation's total of almost one and a half million pounds. Although early census figures frequently are inadequate, those for Maryland powder production are reliable. They indicate that the state ranked first with a total output of 323,447 pounds at nine different establishments. Mills near Baltimore produced 312,500 pounds of the total.[69] Albert Gallatin in 1810 pointed out that gunpowder made in the vicinity of Baltimore was "of a quality said to be equal to any imported," [70] and he indicated that the mills were producing twice as much as the Du Pont works. He informed the House of Representatives that the manufacture of powder in the United States "could at any time be made equal to the consumption, with mills in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsyl-

lowing item: "Rowe, J. K. merchant and president of the AEtna powder company, cor of Pratt and South."

[66] Van Gelder and Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[67] Report by Hamilton on December 5, 1791, in *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States* (Washington, 1928), p. 129.

[68] Isaac McKim to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, October 3, 1807 (Longwood Foundation Library).

[69] Third United States census, 1810, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce). The *American Watchman* on February 27, 1811, listed only six powder mills in Maryland.

[70] Quoted in Walter Lowrie, ed., *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive* (Washington, 1832-61), Finance, II, 429.

vania and other places." [71] One statistician pointed out in 1819 that almost a third of the nation's powder was being made near Baltimore.[72] Maryland, more than any other state, was responsible for the fact that " the improvement in the manufacture of gun powder . . . has exceeded all calculation." [73]

Maryland was the first center in the United States of significant, extensive powder works, and not until the Du Pont Company became firmly established were the Baltimore mills seriously rivaled. Pennsylvania, the other early leader in gunpowder production, had few mills comparable to those near Baltimore; instead, there were numerous smaller works scattered throughout Philadelphia, Delaware, and Montgomery counties.[74]

Holding a prominent place in the powder industry in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Maryland slowly increased its production and reached 669,125 pounds in 1840. Other states, however, increased at a more rapid rate, so that Maryland dropped to fifth place.[75] By 1860, only one powder mill remained, and it was an outgrowth of the Bellona works on the east branch of Jones' Falls.[76] Soon nitroglycerin and dynamite were to succeed black powder as America's leading explosive.[77]

The half century following the Revolutionary War had witnessed the development of a new industry first centered in Maryland—an industry which succeeded in spite of dangers unlike those of any other mills in the nation. Enterprising powder manufacturers in Maryland established mills, overcame many hazards, and produced large quantities of explosives. Through their efforts, the state led the nation in powder production. In these post-Revolutionary years, a new industry—dangerous but essential—was established in the United States.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] D. B. Warden, *Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America* (Edinburgh, 1819), III, 269.

[73] *American Watchman*, August 18, 1810. The price of powder was lower in Baltimore than in any other section of the country. E. I. du Pont to Briscoe & Partridge, October 23, 1817, L. B.

[74] Most of the early Pennsylvania powder mills were located within forty miles of Philadelphia. See Book II of the Third Census (Philadelphia, 1814), photographic facsimile printed under the title *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the Year 1810, Digested and Prepared by Tench Coxe of Philadelphia* (New York, n. d.), p. 68.

[75] Van Gelder and Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Williams Haynes, *American Chemical Industry* (New York, 1954), I, 187, 366-368.

EVESHAM, A BALTIMORE VILLA

By Bryden Bordley Hyde *

TODAY, when our progeny threaten to engulf us with their numbers and their endless sea of new suburbia pushing the visible boundaries of Baltimore into the once beautiful surrounding hills, it might be appropriate to reflect upon what this means to an old estate called Evesham, shrunken from its former glory but still weathering the vicissitudes of "progress." Evesham is typical of many of the ancient country seats that have survived in that it needs some repairs. But the fact that it has survived this far is a miracle and what makes it untypical of similar houses which have stood in the path of Baltimore housing developments.

Now reduced to five acres, Evesham can be found a half mile east of York Road on Northern Parkway off Tunstall Road. It is part of the "Drumquehastle" tract of 810 acres patented in 1755 by William Govane, son of James (buried at Drumquehastle Cemetery near Walker Avenue in 1783), whose family gave its name to the village of Govanstown.[1] "Drumquehastle" was made up of 520 acres of "Friends Discovery," patented by Job Evans in 1695; 98 acres of "Stones Delight," patented by Richard Taylor in 1717; the entirety of "Locust Neck" patented for 50 acres by Henry Morgan in 1744 "and certain vacant land contiguous to same." Morgan purchased these tracts, mortgaged them in 1746, and failing to make payments—how timely!—lost them. William Govane bought them by 1750 and had them patented as "Drumquehastle." He died in 1784 and his son William James Govane inherited the lands. When he died in 1807 portions of the estate were left to Mary Govane Howard, but in 1803 100 acres had been sold to Richard Keys. This latter property passed to James McCormick in 1822 and shortly there-

* In the preparation of this article the author wishes to especially thank Messrs. Hall Harris, Jr., William Patterson, Lennox Birckhead Clemens and the staffs of the Hall of Records, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Peale Museum, and Maryland Historical Society.

[1] Lee McCardell, "Govanstown," Baltimore *Sun*, Dec. 11, 1940.

after to Thomas McCoy. Horatio G. Armstrong purchased it in 1830, and he sold it to Charles R. Taylor in 1841, excepting nine acres for Dr. Lennox Birckhead. The property was again sold in 1845 to Henry Henderson and a year later approximately fifty-five acres together with buildings and improvements were sold to Joseph W. Patterson.[2]

Joseph Wilson Patterson, son of the well-known Baltimore merchant William Patterson (1752-1835) and his wife Dorcas Spear (1761-1814), was born on December 6, 1786. He was accustomed to wealth from childhood, and it was his sister Betsy who married Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the Emperor Napoleon, in 1803. His father was a prime mover in organizing the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and served as its president. Joseph was on the committee formed in 1826 to investigate the possibilities of such a venture and apparently was guided along in business by his able father. He married Charlotte Nichols (1793-1860) in 1817 and three of his children, born before 1827, William, Charlotte and Joseph, were named in his father's will. His daughter, Caroline, who was not mentioned, was not born until 1828. By 1836 he was head of J. W. & E. Patterson, Iron Merchants (S.W. corner Pratt and Commerce Streets) and lived at 96 Hanover Street. That year he became president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In 1837 he removed to 20 South Street near Baltimore Street and kept this as his town house until 1859.[3]

Joseph had inherited William Patterson's "Coldstream" estate of 115 acres in 1835 but apparently preferred the Govanstown area for a country estate. (Tradition has it that his sister met Bonaparte at the Govanstown races.) It had become more accessible from the city when an omnibus service to Govanstown was started in 1844. There was also a weekly stage line which had been established along York Road in 1797. After the purchase of fifty-five acres of Drumquehastle in 1846 Joseph Patterson set about developing it. By 1857 he had named his place "Evesham" and had altered and added to the existing house in such a contemporary and grand manner that it was thought worthy of being illustrated on the border of Robert Taylor's 1857 map of

[2] John Hively of the Hall of Records searched the land titles for the author and prepared a detailed report which has been placed in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Land title records in the possession of the Clemens family were also available to the author.

[3] See Baltimore City Directories.

Baltimore and Baltimore County. There can be little doubt that he engaged one of the leading architects of the day, although who it was has not yet been determined. It may have been Edmund G. Lind, who did Guilford in 1857 and a number of other fashionable houses about this time. Mr. Patterson wanted the newest style, and the latest was neo-Gothic.

Baltimore architects were pushing Gothic quite early. In 1807 Maximilian Godefroy did the Gothic façade for St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, and a Baltimorean, Robert Gilmor, had Alexander Jackson Davis of New York design Glen Ellen, near Loch Raven, in this style in 1832, but the greatest impetus came when in 1835 Sir Charles Barry and A. N. W. Pugin designed Westminster New Palace, London, in Gothic. The rush was on. Andrew Jackson Downing, the greatest of all the romantic critics said in 1846, " the Greek Temple disease has passed its crisis . . . and the people have survived it.[4] In fact the injury to the traditional notion of formality was so serious that the modern concept of the free plan might be said to date from this period.

Joseph Patterson had but to observe the current local creations for inspiration. Robert Cary Long, Jr., one of the best Baltimore architects of this period, was doing Gothic designs for St. Alphonsus Church (1842), Tudor Gothic Franklin Street Presbyterian Church (1844) and the Greenmount Cemetery Gates on York Road (1847).[5] The old Odd Fellows' Hall was started in 1844 and the Aged Womens' Home in 1849. Mr. Patterson, in addition, may have seen copies of Ackermann's fashionable *Repository of Arts,* containing measured drawings of original Gothic structures and details. Robinson's *Rural Architecture* was another popular source of Gothic architecture.

Patterson developed his dream into an impressive country seat in a romantic style setting. The graveled entrance drive wandered a quarter of a mile from the Gatehouse on Evesham Avenue (later enlarged and occupied in 1902 by an architect, George Norbury MacKenzie, 3rd, son of the genealogist-historian) down the hill across a rustic wooden bridge over Chinquapin Run and up the long hill to the circle in front of the house (old Johnny Fisher,

[4] Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition and Americans* (New York, 1955), p. 108.

[5] See plates 76, 80, 81, in Howland and Spencer *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953).

who cut the hay, remembered that the drive was swept with hand brooms once a week). Exotic, and at that time rare, trees and shrubs were planted along this drive and around the house: Ginko (maidenhair) from Japan with its fan shaped leaves, white mahogany, linden, spruce, cedar, larch from Scotland, golden ash, white pine, copper beech and many other species. On the back circle, which led to the large Gothic wooden barn (now a stuccoed house) stood the plank-frame caretaker's cottage (which was later moved about a hundred feet to the southeast where it stands today), also Gothic and with diamond-paned casement windows. Other small outbuildings, possibly built by an earlier owner, were located to the east of the house. The corn fields spread to the north and hay fields stretched northeastward down the hill behind the barn to the hay mow and woods beyond near the stream (now in a narrow park).

The house stands majestically on the hill, rising up on its two-foot-thick stone and brick walls, stuccoed and scored to resemble cut stone. Two steeply gabled wings with heavy pierced barge boards, finials, and bay windows flank the centered cupola, since de-roofed down to the handrail line. They act as welcoming arms around a gabled one-story entrance porch, its roof supported on Gothic shaft columns and four centered Tudor arches. What appears as a symmetrical plan however, is a bit of Gothic trickery. The front door is near the right end of the porch; the two main roof ridges carry back different lengths, the corner of one heavily overhanging the flat tin roof of the main stair hall; the chimneys, with their elaborately moulded brick and granite copings, are not opposite each other; and many "blind" windows with permanently closed shutters strain to give a symmetrical effect.

Before we go in let us pause to compliment Mr. Patterson and his architect and bid them adieu. After Mr. Patterson's death there in 1866,[6] Evesham passed by way of his daughter to Reverdy Johnson, Jr. (1826-1907). Mr. Johnson, the son of the Attorney General, Senator, and Minister to England, married Caroline Patterson (1828-1863) in 1853.[7] He was an attorney and in 1872 president of the Union Manufacturing Company of Maryland,[8] located at Ellicott City. After 1856 he lived with his father-in-

[6] Baltimore *Sun*, Oct. 11, 1866.
[7] Baltimore *American*, Jan. 10, 1853.
[8] Diary of Richard H. Townsend, MdHS, p. 1125.

law at 20 South Street and later at 122 Park. In 1873 he moved to 35 Mt. Vernon Place and then to the Mt. Vernon Hotel. During this period he kept Evesham in good order, but visited it only occasionally, being driven out in nice weather in a "carriage and pair." Evesham had been relatively unoccupied for some twenty-five years when Mr. Johnson sold it in 1895 to Mr. Augustus Ducas Clemens, Jr. (1845-1910), well-known realtor and "developer." [9]

In 1881 Mr. Clemens had married Mary Bordley (1853-1928), daughter of William Clayton Bordley, Jr., of Centreville and Waverly. They had three children and had outgrown their former home on Chestnut Hill Avenue. He actually planned to subdivide the estate but grew to love it so that some thirty more adjacent acres were acquired later from the Myers estate. This love has continued and his children, Mr. Lennox Birckhead Clemens, Mrs. G. Ray Hyde (née Henrietta Amelia Clemens) and Augustus D. Clemens, III, married and raised their children there. Mr. Lennox B. Clemens, his wife (née Olivia Fendall) and Mrs. Hyde are now living at Evesham. Augustus III remodeled the barn into a comfortable house for his brood. The only major alterations made to the house since the Clemens family took over were the addition of a dining room bay window and bathrooms.

Now let us raise the bronze knocker given to Mr. Johnson by a titled friend in England and be let in. If the writer may be permitted to slip into the first person, he will feel more at home, as perhaps you will, in his birthplace. We enter a spacious hall (twenty-eight feet in length) with paneled plaster ceiling. Bosses at three intersections of mouldings have hooks for the chandelier (see reflected ceilings on plan). Hall furnishings include several uncomfortable Gothic benches, some antlers and an oil painting of the Battle of Evesham (1265). Hall doors to the living room, library, dining room and conservatory porch are trimmed with engaged Gothic wooden columns and "wicket" lintels. Actually the "door" of this porch is a double hung window, opening up into a pocket in the wall above, making passage through possible, but always giving tall people a jar. There are four such windows in the living room.

The hall, library and dining rooms are part of the original

[9] *Genealogy and Biography of Leading Families of the City of Baltimore and Baltimore County, Maryland* (New York, 1897), p. 939.

EVESHAM IN 1895

ENTRANCE HALL

LIVING ROOM

On the right of the doorway to the conservatory porch is a portrait of Elizabeth Read Goodman Bryden, great-great grandmother of the author.

Photos by Hughes Co.

THE LIBRARY IN 1900 AND 1957

On the right of the fireplace in the 1900 photo (upper) is a portrait of Henrietta and Augustus Ducas Clemens, III, as children.

Photo by Hughes Co.

FRONT STAIRWAY

Photo by Hughes Co.

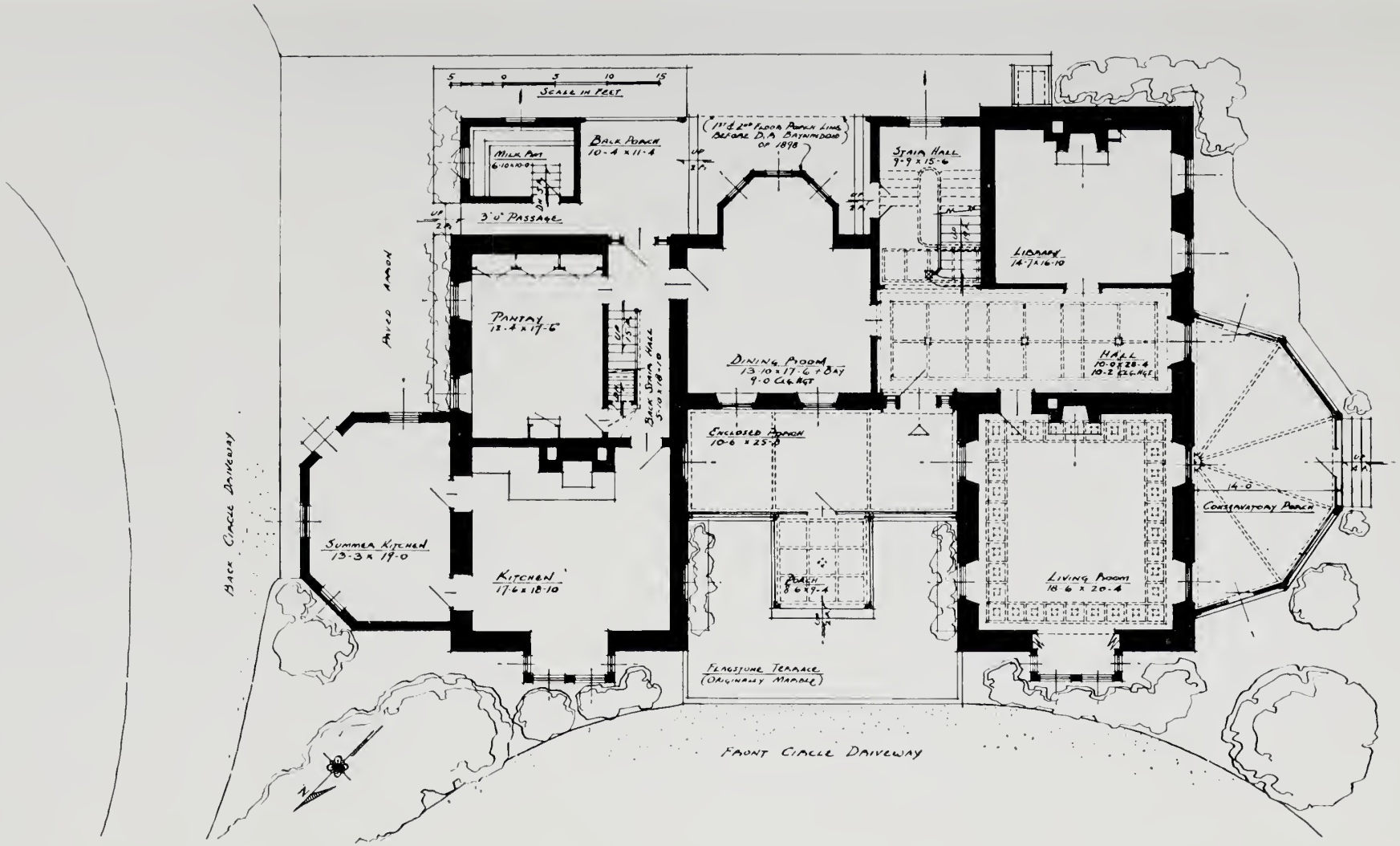
SOUTH BEDROOM

Mrs. Bryden Bordley Hyde is seated in the bay window.
Silhouettes and bed are Bryden family heirlooms.

Photo by Hughes Co.

SECOND FLOOR HALL SHOWING CAST-IRON SPIRAL STAIR, ABOUT 1850

Photo by Hughes Co.


SCALE IN FEET
1ST & 2ND FLOOR PORCH LINE BEFORE D.A. BAYNHOOM OF 1898
BACK PORCH 10-4 x 11-4
MILK PIT 6-10x10-0
3'-0" PASSAGE
PANTRY 12-4 x 17-6
BACK STAIR HALL 5-0 x 18-10
DINING ROOM 13-10 x 17-6 x BAY 9-0 CLG HGT
STAIR HALL 9-9 x 15-6
LIBRARY 14-7 x 16-10
HALL 10-0 x 28-4 10-2 CLG HGT
ENCLOSED PORCH 10-6 x 25-0
CONSERVATORY PORCH
SUMMER KITCHEN 13-3 x 19-0
KITCHEN 17-6 x 18-10
PORCH 8-6 x 9-4
LIVING ROOM 18-6 x 20-4
FLAGSTONE TERRACE (ORIGINALLY MARBLE)
BACK CIRCLE DRIVEWAY
FRONT CIRCLE DRIVEWAY

FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF EVESHAM

Drawn by Bryden Bordley Hyde, 1957.

house prior to 1846. Evidences to support this conclusion are two windows plastered up in the bedroom over the library in the stair hall partition (formerly an exterior wall); the straight line butt joint of the old random width pine floor of the upstairs sitting room over the dining room, indicating a former stair well; a twenty-four inch wall between the hall and living room.

The living room door is decorated with linen fold paneling, painted and grained in the early years of this century to resemble oak. The living room is a stately place with plaster paneled ceiling, white marble Gothic mantle (similar to the one in the front office of the Maryland Historical Society, formerly the Enoch Pratt house) surmounted by a mirror, with frame of the same period, touching the ceiling. It has been a dignifying background for the emotions at family weddings and funerals since Patterson days. My first cousin, Mary Fendall Clemens and I, together with playmates, gave several amateur theatricals here for the benefit of our "Fresh Fruit Fund" for the Home for the Incurables. The neighbors on Evesham Avenue came up and paid, and we kids spent most of the time giggling behind the bay window interior shutters which served as the curtain. Later Mary Fendall's teen-age dances were held here, with a three-piece orchestra. Still later I have seen eight chessboards silent at once with my father, uncles and friends playing, while the crystal chandelier, from my paternal grandfather's house, cast the glittering colors of the spectrum above.

The semi-decagonal conservatory porch with Gothic engaged columns and cast iron railing similar to the front porch was the place to hang a huge flag on the Fourth of July. (That evening my grandfather would be up late chasing candle balloons that might set fire to the house barn or hay rick.) The ceiling, once plastered and ribbed (see plan) fell and was replaced by a tin ceiling, fortunately with Gothic stampings. The floor of five-quarter tongue-and-groove yellow pine is as carefully lap jointed at the segment lines as a ship's decking, and is in perfect condition to this day. The original tin porch roof has a molded cornice with splayed metal covered fascia crowned with small crenulations of wood which conceal the rain gutter.

The library is unornamented except for the white marble mantel, also in the style of the period and again with a huge neo-Gothic mirror to the ceiling. It is broken, but the seven years bad luck theoretically ran out before 1910. The modern floor of

oak covers old worn random-width edge-grain pine as in other first floor rooms. This room so far as I know has always been termed "The Library" and will probably never be called the "TV room." The more intimate scale of this room made it the meeting place for my grandfather's whist club, and my uncle's bridge foursome still plays there.

The way to a man's heart is through the dining room. This room is simple except for furniture, including four china closets, one containing the Johnson's blue Canton (discarded in moving). A late afternoon sun slants through the front porch and lights up our family sideboard that was recovered from Jones Falls after a flood. The hurricane shades on it were found in the attic. The bay window looks southeast across the lawn to a five-foot-high English boxwood hedge. This is the last vestige of a cross-shaped, box-bordered, rose garden said to have occupied the site of the later tennis court. From this window my grandmother could count the dozen or so tennis players and know that she would have about that many more for Sunday dinner.

Dinner in those days was prepared on the wood stove in the kitchen a considerable distance away from the dining room, and when warm weather came, even farther away on the coal oil stove in the summer kitchen. This domain was shared by Celia Cullings, the cook, Maria Winston, the maid, and Robert Smith, my wrestling partner, grandmother's chauffeur, and man about the place. The old stove and several large and deep kitchen cupboards still remain, although the cooking has been transferred to the pantry. An open porch passage separates the pantry from the old, cool, dank milk room with its depressed concrete floor. The back two-story porch extended across to the front stair hall until the bay windows of the dining room and sitting room above were built.

Follow me back through the dining room to the stair hall. It has a nice neo-Gothic quality. The intersection with the main hall is framed with wooden engaged columns and a four centred wooden arch between. The handrail of the stair is supported on pierced paneling and the closed string is carved with the Gothic version of the Great Monad or Yin-Yang, an ancient Chinese symbol representing the material, or feminine, and the spiritual, or masculine.

On the stair landing, in the door opening that originally led to

the second floor back porch, is a painted glass window which, with the other "stained" glass windows in the house, was bought by my grandfather when the famous Barnum's Hotel was razed. This window has the seals of Delaware and Pennsylvania at the top and contemporary sailing vessels, railroad engines, etc., in the other panels. It is a special attraction for all young visitors, but only before they have gone higher and spotted the Gothic cast iron spiral stairway which my grandmother's niece, Helen Bordley, enjoyed climbing until the day of her death at eighty-six.

The second floor originally had five bedrooms and a sitting room (over the dining room). The number has been reduced by the installation of baths. Mother's room is naturally my favorite with its southeast and southwest exposures, a cheerful bay window and a simple Gothic wooden mantle, again with mirror to ceiling. If the neo-Gothic trend freed the plan it forgot the closet. Nowhere, except in the attic, can built-in closets be found.

The attic has four bedrooms (one, oddly, was a wine closet before 1895). The two "back" bedrooms were for servants and one has iron bars on the window (from days of slavery?). There are two large dormer windows with cast iron balconies. The one on the gatehouse side (southwest) had a large brass bell under the eaves for summoning the help. An octagonal shaft with winding risers leads from the attic hall to the cupola. Alternate panels around this shaft, above the roof line, could be removed in the summer, revealing screened, louvered openings which ventilated the entire house. A trap door above leads up to the cupola from which there is a fine view of Baltimore and the Bay.

And so you see that "progress" brings mixed blessings. As we stand on the cupola looking out on the current crop of group houses, musing on high fences, thick hedges, and screens of lombardy poplars, we wonder to what useful purpose this "too big for the neighborhood" house can be put when the present occupants die off. Will it find a savior like Hampton's? Will it find a worthy group of ladies like Mt. Clare's? Or will it be ground into the dust by bulldozers to make way for new buildings, the fate of so many of its worthy neighbors?

KENT ISLAND

PART II: SETTLEMENT AND LAND HOLDING UNDER THE PROPRIETARY

(Continued from Vol. 52, No. 2, June, 1957, p. 119)

By Erich Isaac

IN 1638 Kent Island was erected into a hundred "within the county of St. Mary's" and thus incorporated into the administrative system of the proprietary colony.[1] Politically, the period of the 1640's and 50's was characterized by unsettled conditions on the island. Claiborne repeatedly attempted to recover Kent Island from the proprietor by petitions, and these failing, by actual reconquest, perhaps in league with other Virginians, with loyal settlers on the island, and it may be also in association with Indian allies.[2] All these attempts of course, encountered strong proprietary opposition. The island passed, in 1638, from Claiborne's hands to the hands of the proprietary only to be reconquered by Claiborne, to revert then again to the proprietary by 1647.[3] Nothing daunted, Claiborne renewed his claims in 1650. In 1652 Claiborne, who had been made Parliamentary Commissioner by Cromwell, brought up his old claim to Kent Island and to Palmer Island [4] and actually took possession of Kent Island. In addition, a Puritan regime was established in all Maryland. Only by 1658 was the Lord Proprietary reinstated in Maryland and Claiborne's hold on Kent Island finally broken.[5]

The act passed by the Maryland Assembly establishing Kent Island as a hundred, together with all the acts of the 1638-39 session, was repealed by the Lord Proprietor who nominated Giles Brent "commander" of the island in 1640. The commission to Brent does not mention what kind of administration unit Kent Island actually was to be in Lord Baltimore's province. Other

[1] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), I, p. 125.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 138, 145, 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 194. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 212. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

commissions, however, seem to indicate that the governor's council continued to regard Kent Island as a hundred.[6] The first references to Kent Island as Kent County are found in an order of the Assembly of 1642 alluding to it incidentally as a county.[7] In the same year a new commission issued to Giles Brent made him commander of Kent County.[8] Thus it is assumed by various writers that Kent Island became Kent County in 1642.[9]

It is likely, however, in view of the physical isolation of the island and its remoteness from St. Mary's that it was established as a county earlier than that date. The island is actually called Kent County in the Proprietary Rent Rolls of 1640, and this county is furthermore subdivided into two hundreds: The southern part called Fort Hundred; and the northern, North East Hundred.[10] It thus is apparent that by 1640 the island was no longer a hundred in St. Mary's County, but a full-fledged county in itself.

While the settlers who came during the time of Claiborne's control of the island soon were a minority in both hundreds, a much higher proportion of such settlers was found in Fort Hundred. The older settlers were by no means enamored of Baltimore's rule and constituted a potentially dangerous core of discontent. For this reason Baltimore created two manors in Fort Hundred and gave considerable power to the manor lords he appointed over them.

The rent rolls of Kent Island show that in spite of the prevailing insecurity and uncertainty about the ultimate political fate of the island, a considerable number of new holdings were laid out in addition to the holdings taken up by settlers during Claiborne's regime. These settlers seem to have been generally confirmed in their holdings by the Baltimores. Some further conclusions can be based on the rent rolls. Most of the old settlers of the Claiborne decade lived in the southern part of the island. Thirteen such land owners in Fort Hundred were confirmed in their holdings by the proprietary as against only two in North

[6] Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, JHU Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sc., 3rd Ser., V-VI-VII (May, June and July, 1885), pp. 359-360.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

[8] Louis D. Scisco, "Evolution of Modern Militia in Maryland," *MdHM*, XXXV (1940), 169.

[9] E. g., John M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia and London, 1914), p. 2.

[10] *Isle of Kent County Land Records 1640-1658*, Calvert Paper 880, Part II, MdHS. These records were compiled in or after 1658 for Philip Calvert.

East Hundred. The majority of the holdings of these early settlers were small. They ranged from 40 acres to 200 acres. The two holdings in North East Hundred confirmed by the proprietary for old settlers were 50 and 80 acres in size respectively. There were almost twice as many new holdings in Fort Hundred as old holdings; twenty-four new, fourteen old. In North East Hundred the disparity was even larger; sixteen new, two old. Almost all the new holdings in both "hundreds" were larger than the old holdings.

After the annexation to Maryland two manors were erected on Kent Island proper. One was Kent Fort Manor, laid out in 1640 for Giles Brent "for his service in reducing the island." At first it contained 1,000 acres but was soon enlarged to 2,000 acres. The original grant of 1,000 acres encompassed the lands of Claiborne's first settlement. The other was Crayford Manor, known as "His Lordship's Manor," which was probably Lord Baltimore's demesne. The lands of another manor of 1,430 acres, Thompson's Manor, were only in part on Kent Island. This manor was broken down into two parts. One part of 1,000 acres included all of Poplar Island south of Kent Island in Eastern Bay and another part, 40 acres in size, was located on the island itself.[11]

The new holdings on Kent Island were awarded to settlers by the proprietary administration, which determined the size of each holding on the basis of a land policy laid down by Lord Baltimore as the "Conditions of Plantations" dated in Portsmouth, England, August 8, 1636.[12] According to these "conditions," any "first adventurer" defined as a settler arriving in proprietary Maryland in 1633, who brought with him five men between 16 and 50 years of ago, was entitled to 2,000 acres of land. Any adventurer who came with fewer persons was entitled to 100 acres for himself, and an additional 100 acre share for his wife and for each servant accompanying him. For children under sixteen years of age and for maid servants, the settler was entitled to claim 50 acres each. Similar grants were to be made to settlers arriving in 1634 and 1635 except that an adventurer must bring ten men to acquire 2,000 acres, while adventurers arriving after 1635 with five or more men were to be granted only 1,000 acres. The 100 acre headrights for people who came with fewer than

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Archives of Maryland*, III, p. 47-48.

five men were not changed. Grants of 1,000 acres and above were made for manors to be named by the grantee who enjoyed the rights of a manorial baron on his estate. All grants were of course subject to yearly rents to Lord Baltimore.

In 1649 the first 1636 " Conditions of Plantation " were amended by a " Commission annexed to the Conditions of Plantation de Anno 1649." [13] These amendments stressed that the manors entailed the " royalties and privileges as usually belong to the manors of England," and specified that any person bringing thirty men to the province was entitled to 3,000 acres, to be leased as the manor lords saw fit, provided the lessees were English or Irish. Feudal dues were enumerated and it was stipulated that one sixth of each grant be the demesne of the manor, which was not to be alienated by the Lord of the Manor for at least seven years. A further amendment stated that any number of 100 acre shares granted to persons bringing less than thirty people might be combined into a manor.

The various new grants on Kent Island were issued in accordance with the " Conditions of Plantation," some grants in accordance with the original and some in accordance with the amended " Conditions." For example " Parsons Poynt," a freehold of 500 acres, was given to Captain Robert Vaughan, " for transporting 3 men servants before 1648 and 4 women servants before the year 1646." [14] Robert Vaughan was a member of the Maryland Assembly of 1642. Indian Spring, a 100 acre holding, was awarded to Henry Morgan " for transporting himself." [15] But Richard Blunt received only 330 acres for himself, his wife, his daughter and a man servant.[16] Whether quality of land compensated for a holding twenty acres short of the size promised in the " Conditions of Plantation " cannot be determined. To this day, however, the holding is known as " Blunt's Marsh."

The peopling of Kent Island did not proceed by a simple process of accretion through immigration and natural reproduction. As early as Claiborne's period some settlers left Kent Island and settled on the Eastern Shore mainland. Many tidewater and riverine locations of today's Kent County were colonized by settlers from Kent Island before Maryland was occupied by Lord

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 231-234.
[14] *Isle of Kent County Land Records.*
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*

Baltimore's colony.[17] However, the data are insufficient to examine the in-and-out migration and the ensuing population structure of the island in any detail.

Some data are available which at least give an indication of the magnitude of the island's population. We know, for example, that when Robert Philpot, a brother-in-law of Claiborne, was made captain of the island's "military band" in 1638, the island had 120 men able to bear arms.[18] Not all of these were freemen, for there were only 73 freemen on Kent Island in 1642. These freemen empowered Giles Brent to represent them in the provincial Assembly.[19] Close to the end of the century, in 1696, a religious census of proprietary Maryland was made and, as the American colonies were attached to the Bishopric of London, the results were sent to the Bishop of London. Since the census was conducted on a parish basis, interesting comparisons between various parts of Maryland and Kent Island can be made. Kent Island had 146 tithables as compared to 1,544 in Talbot County, 628 in Dorchester County, 1,391 in Somerset County, 338 in Kent County, and 671 in Cecil County. It is evident that Eastern Shore settlements were expanding rapidly. Western Shore counties of course also increased in population. Ann Arundel County mustered 1,564, and Calvert County 1,044 tithables.[20] Population expansion was not confined to the Eastern Shore, but characterized Kent Island as well. In 1724 there were 260 taxable Anglicans on the island and in addition, a few Quakers, and Roman catholics.[21] A later parish census of 1738 showed that the number of tithables had increased to 387.[22]

By far the majority of the island's inhabitants were Episcopalians. A Jesuit missionary lived on Kent Island in 1639,[23] but no further records about active Catholic communities on seventeenth century Kent Island are known. It has been ascertained, however, that some Quaker meetings were held on Kent Island.

[17] Peregrine Wroth, "New Yarmouth," *MdHM*, III (1908), 276.
[18] Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
[19] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 168-9.
[20] Bernard C. Steiner, "Some Unpublished Manuscripts from Fulham Palace relating to Provincial Maryland," *MdHM*, XII (1917), 117-127.
[21] Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland, Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 137.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[23] Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185.

It is not known whether all the attendants at these meetings were Friends, or how many Quaker families lived on the island.[24]

The planting of 2,000 tobacco plants by Claiborne's settlers in 1632 initiated a tobacco economy which goes far to explain the settlement pattern of the island as well as its population composition. While it is not known when tobacco was first introduced on the Western Shore, the cultivation of tobacco soon spread through all Maryland. In 1638 an act was passed by the Maryland Assembly which regulated payments of tobacco. By 1639 tobacco was considered of sufficient importance to justify a tax on whatever quantities were exported to countries other than England and Ireland, and only two years later legislation was passed providing for inspection of tobacco before exportation.[25]

What kind of tangible imprint did the increasing population, an increasing number of holdings, and an intensified cultivation of tobacco make on Kent Island's landscape? We know that by 1658 fifty-five Kent Island holdings were recorded on the proprietary rent rolls. On the 1676 map of Maryland by Augustine Herman, fifty holdings are indicated. The disparity is explicable when we read Herman's map legend which indicates that Herman showed only the more important plantations.

No nucleated or compact settlement of any type is indicated on Herman's map. The picture which emerges is of individual farms located at varying intervals along the shores of the island. Thus the island presented in its scattered settlement a pattern much more akin to the isolated farmsteads of Virginia than to the compact settlement of the northeastern seaboard.

Omitting a detailed comparison of New England settlements and Claiborne's Kent Island, we can assert as a general rule that the former had fairly compact villages, even when settlement occurred inland from the original " beachhead," whereas the latter had only one concentrated settlement, Kent Fort, and this was simply a compound and cannot be called a village. On the whole settlers lived on their scattered holdings. Neither the background of the settlers nor the trading-post purpose of their settlement encouraged compact settlement on Kent Island. Nor did conditions, adverse as they were to the growth of compact settlement

[24] D. L. Thornbury, " Quakers in Maryland," *MdHM*, XXIX (1934), 101-115.
[25] L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933), p. 37.

on the island, change immediately with the beginning of the proprietary period. The conditions of this later period were equally unfavorable to such a development.

Although tobacco had been introduced to Kent Island quite early in Claiborne's time, general farming continued for some time to hold first place in the settlers' agricultural activities. As the rent rolls of Kent Island indicate, the settlers were required to pay their annual dues in coin or in its corn equivalent as late as 1650. By 1658 some still paid in corn whereas others were told to pay in coin or a commodity of equivalent value to be designated "at the choice of his Lordship."[26] Although tobacco was not specifically named, this ruling indicates its growing importance in the intervening years. Originally the production of tobacco had been discouraged by British policy on the theory that production of a single money crop by the colonists would lead to rapid economic independence for the colonies, an undesirable development from the British point of view.[27] When Kent Island finally was transformed to a place of highly specialized one crop plantation agriculture, probably between 1650 and 1658, the advantages of compact settlement became even slighter. Plantations were all close to tidewater and were easily serviced by sea-going ships. This served to reinforce the self-sufficiency of the planters. A further point to remember is that land was granted under proprietary policy to individuals, rather than to communities as was the case in New England, which strengthened the old situation under Claiborne of individual and isolated holdings.

At this stage of Kent Island's history two powerful English traditions strove for supremacy in determining the island's settlement pattern. The comparatively static settlement pattern of that period in England gave little opportunity for these two traditions to come into conflict there. In England the old administrative subdivisions of county, shire and hundred for example, were in no way opposed to feudal town policies; all, rather, were part of the more or less integrated structure of Tudor and Stuart England. On Kent Island, however, the simultaneous introduction of both traditions into a recently settled area tested both. In that test, as

[26] *Isle of Kent County Land Records.*

[27] Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland*, 1608-1860, U. of Ill., Studies in Soc. Sc., Vol. 13, No. 1 (March, 1925), p. 40.

far as Kent Island was concerned, the feudal prerogative of establishing towns failed, whereas the tradition of the hundred, more appropriate to local conditions, succeeded, and in the process strengthened the tendency toward dispersed settlement.

In the Maryland charter Cecil Calvert was explicitly given the right to "erect and incorporate towns, sea ports, harbours . . . in so many and such places . . . as to him . . . shall seem most expedient." [28] This privilege was repeatedly used. As early as 1639, the General Council of Maryland resolved that tobacco shipped out of the province should be taxed. In this we have the clue to most later town acts, since taxation could only be effectively imposed on the scattered planters if their shipments were recorded. Records, however, could only be kept if all shipments were routed through some control point. That taxation was the primary object in establishing proprietary towns is unequivocally stated in the first proper port act passed in 1668 "concerning the appointing of a certeyne places for the unloading and selling of all good. . . ." [29] The numerous town acts passed by the council and the Assembly of the province were in keeping with the lord's right to initiate laws, and the subject's duty to confirm laws thus proposed.

Among the towns ordered to be established by the proprietary in Maryland were two to be located on Kent Island. A Kent Island location is mentioned for the first time as a future town in the "Act for Advancement of Trade" passed in 1683 by the General Assembly.[30] The place was identified in this act as "shipping als Coxes Creeke." Shipping, as well as the other 84 locations named in this act were supposed to become towns by 1685. The act of 1683 contained the detailed instructions for the layout of the proprietary towns.

No trace has ever been found of this town. The second proposed town was "At Broad Creek, on Kent Island, where Town was laid out [*sic*] . . . Erected a Town." [31] For reasons to be discussed later a small settlement at Broad Creek actually developed previously to the act. This was perhaps the germinal settlement of today's unincorporated town of Stevensville.

Despite the minor development at Broad Creek, and the elabo-

[28] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 84.
[29] *Archives*, V, 31.
[30] *Archives*, VII, 609 ff.
[31] Quoted in the appendix of Francis C. Sparks' *Report of the Public Records Commission of Maryland* (n. d. [ca. 1906], n. p.), p. 276.

rate provisions included in the Act for Advancement of Trade, ranging from specific instructions concerning the administration of the town to its physical layout and economic base, the town building policy was a failure.

The economic base of the town was provided for by the provision that all exports and imports, all financial transactions and tax payments, had to take place in them. Residents of the town who had empty or only partly-filled store houses might be compelled to store tobacco belonging to other planters for a rental fee. Despite all these theoretical measures the failure to establish towns on Kent Island finally had to be conceded. Proprietary town planning ended, as far as Kent Island was concerned, quite laconically in an act of 1708 which declared that henceforth the island was a member of the Port of Oxford.[32]

In spite of the threat of more rigorous inspection of exports and increased taxation, public opinion towards the proprietary town planning policy was not irrevocably antagonistic. Opinions were divided when sessions of the upper and lower houses dealt with the town policy. The seat of favorable opinion appears to have been in the upper house, which followed the recommendation of the proprietor.[33] The lower house judged the will of the people to be the opposite, but the constant pressure from the upper house, which insisted that the building of towns would lead to the " procuring of money and advancement of trade," weakened the resistance of the lower house, and led to the " Act for the Advancement of Trade " with its subsequent amendments.

It was undoubtedly easy to circumvent the proprietary restrictions and smuggle tobacco to ships from odd landings, thus undermining the port and taxation foundation of the towns planned for Kent Island. But even if smuggling had been more difficult, there were two other economic requirements which had to be met to ensure a flow of taxable produce through the town and thus insure its continued existence. Both a sedentary cultivation of the town hinterland and an ever increasing production of a valuable crop were necessary in order to provide for the town's subsistence and continued growth. In a shifting type of agriculture such as tobacco which rapidly exhausts the soil, the main crop-producing regions necessarily move farther and farther away,

[32] *Archives*, XXVII, 163.

[33] *Ibid.*, VII, 448-449.

increasing the transport cost to the town. The proprietary under such conditions would have been forced to lower the tax rate on the export crop, simply to ensure its saleability at a price which the consumer was ready to pay. In tobacco cultivation new lands had constantly to be brought into cultivation while old tobacco lands were either put into corn or abandoned. Since the amount of agricultural land on Kent Island was definitely limited, the tobacco production of the island would soon have proved insufficient to sustain a viable port town. While the proprietary might have conceivably prolonged the life of a town on Kent Island by diverting tobacco exports from the Eastern Shore to the island and shipping it from there, this would have increased transport costs—an inevitable result of bulk-breaking.

For all this, towns might have succeeded on Kent Island had they come to fulfill a political or social function. But in this respect Kent Island's needs were already fulfilled. The island was organized into a territorial unit that discharged many of the political functions of the towns of the day—the hundred. The hundred was the original subdivision of proprietary Maryland. Hundreds in Maryland were not based on population; they were strictly a territorial division, laid out and named by proclamation of the governor. By order in Council 1638-9, the hundreds were made the election districts of Maryland and chose deputies to the Assembly.[34]

The most complete hundred organization in the province was the Kent Island hundred. Its chief officer was called "commander" and "the commissions" issued from time to time to the commanders of Kent gave them a range of powers scarcely inferior to those possessed by the governor of the province."[35] The rent rolls, and the military and political organization of the Kent Island community were defined by the hundred. Of course, the position of Kent Island was anomalous. Its distance from St. Mary's, the struggle with Claiborne, and the importance of the island as an Indian trading post magnified its importance.

The hundred provided the frame for the military and civil, religious and secular expression of Kent Island's community life. Its court house, church and militia corresponded to similar institutions in New England towns. Kent Island thus possessed the

[34] Cf. the discussion of Lewis W. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*
[35] Scisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-177.

institutions of townhood without having a town in the sense of nucleated settlement. Paradoxically, then, the efficient transplanting of an English feudal territorial organization to Kent Island contributed to the failure of the equally feudal tradition of proprietary town building.

The manorial tradition, moreover, when transplanted to Kent Island and Maryland, reduced the likelihood of a vigorous development of town life. Although they never approached the character of the English Manor, these manors became the seat of the cultural and social life in Maryland. Owing their existence to the proprietary land policy and being integrated into the attempted feudal structure of Maryland, the manor's social activities and sometimes cultural vitality stole, in advance as it were, the social and cultural thunder of town life. Kent Island manors were not outstanding social or cultural centers, but the social activities on mainland manors nearby, and on manors located in such places as Wye Island, were accessible to Kent Island society.[36]

At all events the Baltimores themselves probably did not push their town policy with vigor. They did not depend for their revenue on the taxation of trade alone. Quit rents, escheat, and alienation fees were the mainstays of their taxation policy. These taxes were collected on the basis of the size of holdings, a system which was fairly efficient. The taxation of trade posed incomparably greater problems of enforcement due to the many creeks and landing places, ideally suited for illegal export of tobacco.[37] Despite the high revenue then, which the owners of the province derived from trade, they did not show the single-mindedness in establishing towns they might have shown had trade been their only source of taxation.

The tobacco economy of early eighteenth-century Kent Island, like that of the entire Eastern Shore, was free from such eccentric disturbances as those resulting from mineral wealth, which again might have encouraged the growth of compact settlement.[38] There was, moreover, little industry in the whole of Maryland. Most tools or manufactured implements were either imported or else manufactured on the farms and manors.[39] It was the British policy

[36] See Robert Wilson, "Wye Island," *Lippincott's Magazine*, XIX (April, 1877), 466-474.
[37] Gray, *History of Agriculture*, p. 219.
[38] Henry J. Warman, "Population of the Manor Counties of Maryland," *Economic Geography*, XXV (1949), 38.
[39] Craven, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

of the period to encourage manufacturing at home and restrict the colonies to agricultural and primary production. This policy, the self-sufficiency of the colonies, and the dependability of regular transport, prevented the province from having an extensive population of skilled craftsmen. The absence of specialized labor weakened the need for compact settlement, a need fostered where one type of industry complements the other and stages of manufacturing are separately carried out in different workshops before the product is finished.

While towns such as those visualized by the proprietary did not develop on Kent Island, one small settlement did in fact cluster at the head of Broad Creek. Although it was a hamlet rather than a " town," it had been planned as a town at least as early as 1686. In this year Kent County records mention an appropriation " to Valentine Southern for expenses on the town on Kent Island, 400 lb. of Tobacco; to Mr. Anthony Workman for expenses on the town on Kent Island 380 lb. of tobacco; to William Elliott for laboring 6 days on the towne on the said island at 1—60 lbs of tobacco." That the site of the town referred to above was probably Broad Creek can be deduced from the wording of the 1706 Act for the Advancement of Trade, which specified that a port be created at Broad Creek " Where the same town was formerly laid out." [40]

By 1709, despite the smallness of the settlement, we find it again referred to as " town." In a deed, conveying land from Anthony Workman to an English merchant, it is stated that the property was near " a town on Kent Island." Since Workman owned an Inn at Broad Creek we may assume that the deed refers to the latter.

Inasmuch as churches occupied a prominent place in proprietary town planning it is possible that the existence of a church near Broad Creek was an important consideration in locating the town there. The island's earliest church had been built near Broad Creek as early as 1650.[41]

What made the settlement viable, however, was undoubtedly its function as bulk-breaking point on the bay-crossing route between the Eastern Shore and Annapolis. At least one ferry nego-

[40] Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 319.
[41] Helen West Ridgely, *The Old Brick Churches of Maryland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1894), p. 6, and Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

tiated the Bay between Broad Creek and Annapolis as early as 1729.[42] By 1746 the crossing was made by two ferries.[43]

Broad Creek was an important stop for the public post established by the Maryland Assembly in 1695. The mail was carried from Annapolis to Broad Creek by ferry, from which it went to Oxford, the next station on the mainland. Although this service seems to have been short-lived,[44] Broad Creek remained an important stopover on a traveled road and offered to travelers various facilities, such as Mr. Workman's Inn. Broad Creek derived benefits not merely from its position on a route connecting the two shores of Maryland, but also from its location on a major intercolonial traffic artery. The most frequently traveled route between Philadelphia and Virginia ran southward on the Eastern Shore to Broad Creek, where the ferry to Annapolis was taken.[45] In the early eighteenth century Broad Creek again became a stop on the Philadelphia-Annapolis trade route. From Philadelphia to Annapolis the mail was carried along the Western Shore, but the return trip was made via Broad Creek on the Eastern Shore.[46] The need for regular mail service in Maryland was stressed by Governor Sharpe who suggested in 1764 the establishment of permanent post offices, one of which was to be located at the "Ferry House on Kent Island."[47] By 1747 passengers crossing the bay could hire "a two wheeled chair horse and driver convenient for travelling between Chesterstown, Kent Island and Talbot Court House."[48]

Church, Inn, and Ferryhouse were thus the civic centers of Broad Creek. Whether the island's court house and prison were also located within the confines of the town is not known. A courthouse on Kent Island is mentioned in the rent rolls as early as 1651. The early courts seem generally to have been held at various places on the island, including the place of Richard Blunt, the owner of Blunt's Marsh. Not until 1674 was an act passed

[42] Advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis, June 10, 1729).
[43] Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765*, JHU Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sc., Ser. 33, No. 1 (1915), p. 153.
[44] St. George Leakin Sioussat, "Highway Legislation in Maryland and its influence on the Economic Development of the State," *Maryland Geological Survey*, III, Pt. 3 (Baltimore, 1899), p. 119.
[45] Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[46] Sioussat, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
[47] List of Post Offices in *MdHM*, XII (1917), 370-371.
[48] Advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis, June 23, 1747).

by the Assembly ordering each county to erect a courthouse and prison. That Kent Island carried out these instructions is evidenced by Lord Baltimore's order according to which the courthouse and prison were conveyed to him as Lord Proprietary. No specific location, however, is mentioned in the instrument of transfer.[49]

In summary, toward the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, the island was characterized by individual holdings, and one small settlement, which, through its church and inn, catered to the religious and to some extent the social needs of the islanders, but was not dependent on the economy of the island for its survival. Broad Creek's viability was maintained in large measure by the intercolonial route connecting Pennsylvania with Virginia.

When a functional classification is drawn up, of the stages through which Kent Island passed, from the time of Claiborne to the middle of the eighteenth century, we find that it was first a settlement supporting the beaver and corn trade, subsequently a tobacco producing area, and finally a bulk-breaking point on the route between the northern and southern colonies. These three stages, of course, overlapped in time. Once the colonial north-south route had shifted from Kent Island, which occurred by the middle of the eighteenth century, the island was relegated to the backwaters of Maryland developments.

The fact that elements of the island's early landscape have survived to this day to the degree that they have, is a measure of the relatively unimportant role which the island played in the affairs of Maryland and the Chesapeake Bay during the last two hundred years. Had the island not lost its commercial, agricultural, and transport functions, the early landscape features would surely have been effaced to a greater extent than has been the case. Partly as the result of the loss of these functions, absentee ownership was common, and this in turn may have contributed to the island's decline, and very probably was a further reason for the preservation of early landscape features, such as forested areas.

The question might be asked whether this decline was inevitable. The reasons for the island's economic decline, and the failure of the proprietary town planning policy have already been

[49] Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

discussed. The island's decline might never have begun, however, had it become an urban administrative center of the proprietary colony. Such a role would have attracted a service population in later years and eventually the island might even have acquired an industrial function.

What were the circumstances that prevented the oldest settled area from becoming central to the colony? While it is impossible to offer a definitive answer to this question we can suggest certain factors which may have been operative. The very fact that Kent Island was the oldest settled area may have been a handicap in respect to the island's acting as an administrative center. An earlier and hostile population faced the new regime; surely it was wiser to select an area where no potential conflict of this type existed. Furthermore this was an age of intercolonial boundary rivalries. Virginia and Maryland shared in these disputes and St. Mary's had the advantage of being close to the Virginia border.

Even had a successful beginning been made towards dense urban settlement under proprietary auspices in the eighteenth century Kent Island's location would again have constituted a severe drawback. The island's insularity, advantageous from the point of view of commercial shipping in a period of vessels of small draught, was a handicap in times of war when enemy raiders sailed the bay. The same handicap pertained in days of official peace, which were violated by privateers or pirates. Some local names on Kent Island, such as Bloody Point or Scaffold Creek were probably derived from happenings of that period.

A further " if " of Kent Island's history allows us to presume that the Chesapeake Bay, instead of being divided between Maryland and Virginia, had been consolidated into one colony. Under such a regime, defense would have been coordinated and Kent Island might have been secure. But it still would probably not have been a political center, for there were other even earlier established centers in Virginia.

Neither the economic nor political conditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were favorable to the establishment of Kent Island's ascendancy in the Chesapeake Bay region.

PART III: KENT FORT MANOR

The following detailed history of the ownership of one of the original properties on Kent Island, Kent Fort Manor, is given because it explains, at least partially, why the field layout of the early settlers and the forest boundaries in the southern part of the island have to a large extent survived up to the present day. The lack of continued ownership, absenteeism, frequent lawsuits and in the last century the poverty of the owners were all important factors in preventing any large scale improvements or modifications.

The people of Kent Island still speak of Kent Fort Manor, but the term refers specifically to one farm about 170 acres in size in the southern part of the island. The eighteenth-century feudal connotations of the name are all but forgotten. As late as the latter half of the last century, however, the term Kent Fort Manor was regarded as extending from Kent Point in the south to the head of Tanner's Creek in the north and bounded on the east by Eastern Bay, and by the Chesapeake Bay on the west. In other words, the name Kent Fort Manor was applied to its original expanse long after it had ceased to be one property, but had been broken up into a number of holdings.

The first extant document referring to the land grant of Kent Fort Manor, is an order dated January 1, 1639, instructing Robert Clark, Deputy Surveyor to lay out for " Giles Brent, gent. Treasurer and one of the councellours of the Province " one thousand acres of land " lying nearest together about Kent Fort and one thousand more where he shall desire it." [50] By September, 1640, the manor was laid out,[51] and a grant was drawn up and issued to Giles Brent. The entry of the survey in the provincial records states that the boundaries of the manor laid out for Brent " contains in the whole One thousand Acres or thereabouts." The boundary, however, is described in the same entry as the Chesapeake Bay on the east, west and south, and in the north as a line " drawn through the Woods Straight East beginning at the Northernmost Branch of the Creek called Northwest Creek and ending in a Swamp on the east side of the said Neck in Chesapeake

[50] Liber A. B. and H., p. 70. (Hall of Records, Annapolis).
[51] *Ibid.*

Bay." [52] The description delimits two thousand acres, and it seems probable that the surveyor accurately followed his instructions and laid out two thousand acres in a contiguous area, presumably according to Brent's wish, while he mistakenly reported only one thousand acres to be included within that boundary.

The land was called Kent Fort Manor and was held by Brent for the rent of " two barrells of good Corn " to be paid " at the Feast of our Lord's nativity." Brent was entitled to sell any part of his land with the exception of a 300 acre demesne. In addition he was granted the right to hold court " in the nature of a Court Barron " and twice a year, in the month after Michaelmas (September 29) and the month after Easter, he was allowed to have a court leet or view of Frankpledge.[53] Brent was thus launched with jurisdictional rights over a two thousand acre grant. As court baron he was entitled to exercise manorial rights and the right to a court leet conferred upon him the prerogatives of a petty criminal court for the punishment of small offenses. The view of Frankpledge extended these rights insofar as they empowered him to hold any of the tithable inhabitants of his manor responsible for the good conduct or the damage done by any one of the other inhabitants of the manor.

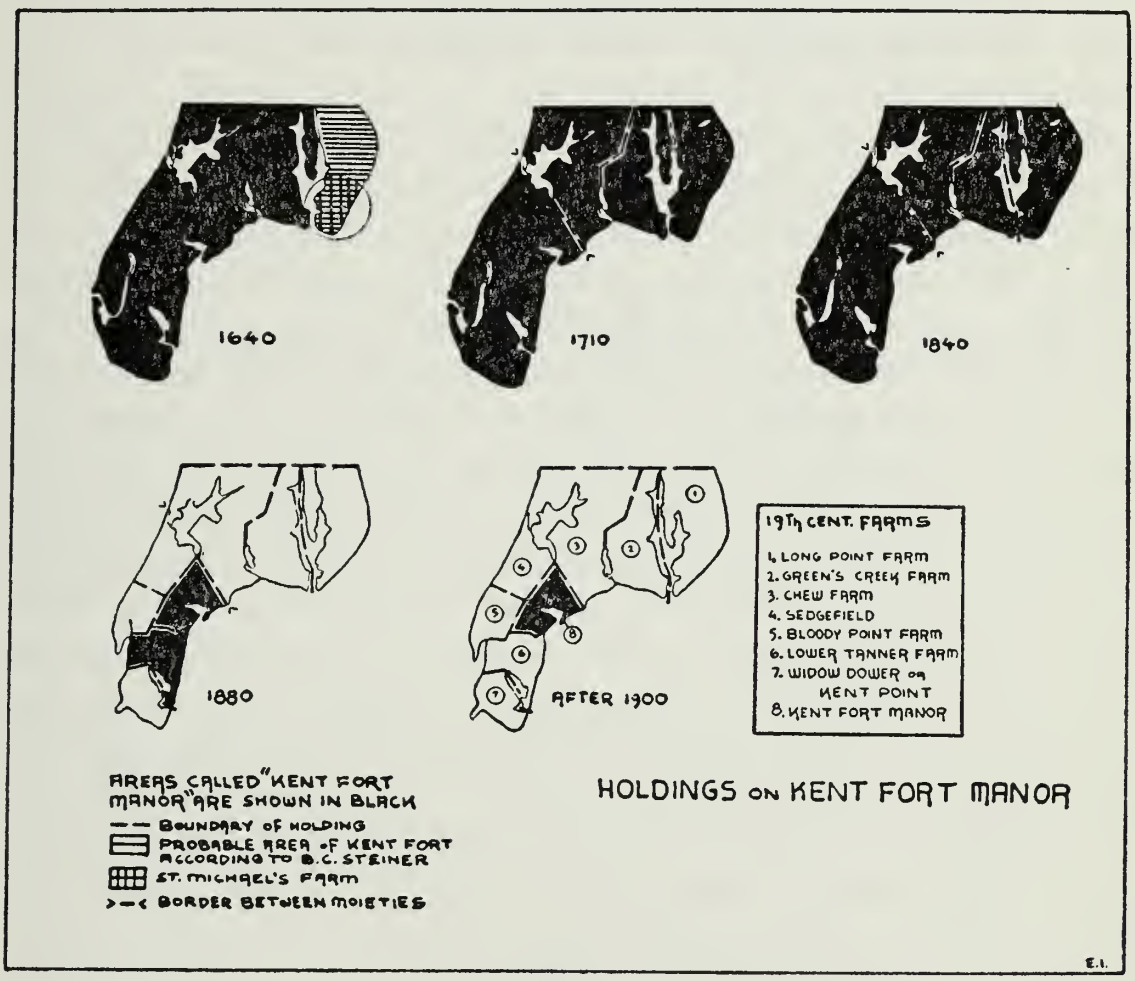
It is doubtful whether Giles Brent ever managed to impose his manorial rights upon the inhabitants of the only recently reduced partisans of Claiborne. Furthermore, after its inclusion into proprietary Maryland the entire island changed hands several times during the seventeenth century. It was intermittently occupied by Claiborne and by other forces (possibly in alliance with him) hostile to the Lords Baltimore. The manor was laid out, as we have noted, but a manorial regime was probably never efficiently enforced. This was in part due to Brent's being only partially preoccupied with his manor. Brent was a member of the Maryland Council and treasurer of the colony. Moreover, at the very time that he was awarded Kent Fort Manor, he was captain of St. Mary's militia or " trained band." Brent's first appearance on the island was apparently in early 1640. He came with a commission dated February 3, 1640, which made him commander of Kent Island. Brent was soon relieved of that commission, and spent his time partly on the island and partly at St. Mary's. He

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72.

spent 1643-44 entirely on the Western Shore as acting governor during Leonard Calvert's trip to England.[54] More important, however, in explaining the ineffectiveness of the manorial system on Kent Fort Manor than the factor of Brent's absentee ownership is the sporadic control of the island exercised by Claiborne.

Subsequent owners of Kent Fort Manor followed Brent's example of dwelling to a large extent outside the island. In 1642 the



manor was given by Giles Brent to his sister, Margaret Brent, in payment of seventy-three pounds that he owed her.[55] Margaret Brent like her brother was occupied with affairs on the Western shore. Indeed the first entry of a patent for town lands on the rent rolls of St. Mary's is for "Sisters' Freehold" to be owned by Margaret Brent and her sister Mary.[56] Margaret died far from Kent Island in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on October 20,

[54] Scisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.
[55] Hester Dorsey Richardson, "Side Lights of Maryland History," *Literary Digest*, April 6, 1929.
[56] "Brent Family," Baltimore *Sun*, March 27, 1904.

1663, leaving her property to her brother Giles and various nephews and nieces.[57] There are almost no Maryland records for the rest of the century concerning the history of Kent Fort Manor, and no clues as to whether the owners of the Brent family lived on the manor. We do know, however, that Giles Brent's grandson, William, who was born in 1677, died in 1709 in England even farther from Kent Island than his great-aunt Margaret. William's son was born in England posthumously on March 5, 1710, and died at Aquia, on the Western Shore, on August 17, 1742.[58]

We do not know precisely the number of years the Brents held Kent Fort Manor. The first extant record of other owners is in the beginning of the eighteenth century when the manor was owned by a Philip Lynes (or Lines)[59] who lived in Charles County.[60] Absentee ownership clearly did not cease with the end of the Brent tenure. In 1709 the manor was first broken up into two 1,000 acre moieties by the heirs of Philip Lynes, who sold one half.[61] This perhaps indicates that the manor had always been regarded as consisting of two parts equal in area, although perhaps not equal in legal standing. One moiety is that referred to in the grant to Giles Brent as the 1,000 acres of land "lying nearest together about Kent Fort" and the other moiety is what was termed "one thousand more." Although the latter was known under the same name as the first, it had subordinate standing. Kent Fort Manor was probably located on St. Michael's farm in the northern part of the 2,000 acre holding.[62] Thus it was the southern moiety which had subordinate standing in relation to the northern, and when selling a part of the property came in question, the owner decided to give up that half which did not carry the full weight of traditional prestige enjoyed by the northern moiety.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the manor's history was marked by mysterious arrangements and exchanges. For one thing, more land was exchanged than was comprised in Kent

[57] Richardson, *op. cit.*

[58] Chester Horton Brent, *Descendants of Col. Giles Brent* (Rutland, Vermont, 1946), p. 86.

[59] Queen Anne's County Rent Rolls, 147. Calvert Papers 881, *Md.HS.*

[60] Liber P. L. 3, January 26, 1709. (H. of R.)

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *MdHM*, LII (1957), 102-3. See also "Traces of Claiborne's Settlement, Kent Island," *JHU Circulars*, XXIII (1903-1904), 1.

Fort Manor. Charles Carroll, the new owner of the southern moiety, sold his half to William Bladen [63] who had, jointly with Mary Conlee, already inherited the other half of the manor from Philip Lynes.[64] On April 14, 1710, Bladen purchased from Foster Turbutt one quarter of Kent Fort Manor.[65] With this purchase of quarter of the property, added to the moiety bought from Carroll and the quarter he had inherited directly from Lynes, Bladen should have acquired control of the entire manor. We find, however, that on April 29, 1713, William Bladen acquired from Philemon Hemsley and his wife Mary (née Conlee) their quarter of Kent Fort Manor.[66] Evidently there were other transactions of which we have no record. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century then, Kent Fort Manor was fragmented and the holdings changed hands frequently. Moreover, the man who reassembled it at the end of that period, William Bladen, continued the tradition of absentee ownership. Bladen was a resident of Annapolis [67] where he was clerk of the provincial council.[68]

If the records lack clarity in the 1700-1720 period, they are even foggier in the 1720's. The manor went into the hands of one absentee owner after another. William Bladen's son Thomas Bladen, who became the seventh proprietary governor of Maryland, sold Kent Fort Manor in London.[69] However, only six months after the record of the first sale, we find another entry in the register of deeds recording the sale of Kent Fort Manor by Thomas Bladen to a different purchaser.[70] We do not know the circumstances leading to the second sale. It seems clear, however, that William Stavely, one of the two London merchants who first purchased the manor from Bladen, did actually own the manor, for in a deed dated November 20, 1731, he conveyed its 2,000 acres to Benjamin Tasker.[71] Benjamin Tasker was a brother-in-law of Thomas Bladen, acting governor from 1752-1753 and Commissary-General until 1759.[72] Thus far the story of Kent

[63] Liber P. L. 3, February 1, 1710 (H. of R.).
[64] *Ibid.*, January 26, 1709.
[65] Liber T. P. 4, April 14, 1710, p. 12 (H. of R.).
[66] Liber T. P. 4, *ibid.*, p. 165.
[67] *Ibid.*, April 14, 1710, p. 12.
[68] " The Maryland Delegates to the Albany Confederacy," *Dixie*, III (1889), 111.
[69] Liber P. L. 6, February 1, 1724, p. 107 (H. of R.).
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.
[71] Liber P. L. 8, November 20, 1731, p. 63 (H. of R.).
[72] *Dixie*, III, 279, 283.

Fort Manor, as documented by its deeds, is a simple story of land transfers. There are some gaps in the record which leave us with unanswered questions, but on the whole the sequence of land transfers can be traced.

Unfortunately the history of the manor, as narrated above, is obscured by another sequence of deeds. According to these records, at the same time the manor was supposedly owned by William Stavely, it was in reality possessed by Daniel Moye after which it went to his son Richard Moye and after the latter, to William Maria Farthing of St. Mary's County. In 1727 Farthing lost Kent Fort Manor to Nicholas Lowe, one of Farthing's creditors.[73] Somehow, by the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, Kent Fort Manor was returned to the ownership of the Brent family. The Brents, however, did not remain in uninterrupted possession of the manor during the rest of the century. In the records we find that William Brent mortgaged the southern moiety of the manor to Charles Carroll, Sr., on May 21, 1768. William Brent followed in the footsteps of his seventeenth-century ancestor in living away from the island; this William Brent lived in Stafford County, Virginia.[74] Upon his death in 1782 his heirs freed the land mortgaged to Carroll by repaying the mortgage fund and interest.[75] Thereafter they sold the entire manor "containing by Estimation two thousand one hundred and fifty acres" to Samuel Chew of Herring Bay, Ann Arundel County,[76] on May 28, 1785. Six months later, on November 24, 1785, the latter drew up a will in which he left the manor to his wife Elizabeth and specified that after her death the manor should pass to his son Samuel Lloyd Chew.[77]

Samuel Chew died in 1786 and in 1787 his widow and son divided the 2,000 acres of the manor between them. The southern half was kept by Elizabeth Chew and the northern by her son Samuel. The Chews suffered vicissitudes of fortune thereafter. In 1789 Samuel Lloyd Chew mortgaged his half to Charles Carroll but seems to have paid off the mortgage later.[78] Elizabeth

[73] Liber P. L. 6, p. 300.
[74] Liber D. D. 4, May 21, 1768, p. 403 (H. of R.).
[75] Liber C. D. 1, June 1785, pp. 351-352 (H. of R.).
[76] Liber T. B. H. 1, May 28, 1785, p. 379 (H. of R.).
[77] Liber S. C. 7, November 24, 1785, folio 26 (H. of R.).
[78] Bernard C. Steiner, "Kent Fort Manor," *MdHM,* VI (1911), 254-255.

Chew was also forced to mortgage her southern moiety, but paid off the mortgage in 1797.[79]

The process of fragmentation of Kent Fort Manor thus begun in the 1780's did not end with the division into two equal parts. Elizabeth Chew sold her moiety to T. M. Foreman who transferred it to Philip Barton Key [80] who sold it to Arthur Bryan on March 17, 1798.[81] The northern half of the manor contained three farms. Of these the easternmost was called Long Point Farm, and the central one was alternately known as Indian Point or Green's Creek Farm. Samuel Lloyd Chew held his land until 1838 when he sold Long Point Farm. Two years later he sold Indian Point as well. By the middle of the nineteenth century the remaining third of the northern moiety of the manor also passed out of the hands of his heirs.

This threeway splitting of the northern moiety and alienation to three different owners marks the end of the history of the northern half of the manor under the name of Kent Fort Manor. Although this was the 1,000 acres specifically mentioned in the original grant, after 1847 the term Kent Fort Manor was generally applied to the southern moiety only.[82]

In 1802 the Chancery Court allotted the southern half of Kent Fort Manor to Arthur Bryan's sister, Suzanna Tait. Suzanna left her land to her son Robert Tait who sold it to his son-in-law Robert Cray in 1825. Richard Cray's descendents held the southern part of Kent Fort Manor for the major part of the century.[83]

From the early 1860's to the first decades of the present century the story of the southern part of Kent Fort Manor is one of increasing impoverishment, accelerated by a number of law suits and family feuds.[84] The division of the southern half of Kent Fort Manor into five different farms each owned by a different person began after 1861.[85] The widow of one of the Crays, again named Richard, was forced to sell two farms in order to pay off the debts left behind by her deceased husband. Thus Sedgefield, or Western Bay Farm, and the Bloody Point Farm were sold. As

[79] Liber S. T. W. 4, April 27, 1797, p. 228 (H. of R.).
[80] Steiner, "Kent Fort Manor," pp. 254-255.
[81] Libert S. T. W. 4, March 17, 1798, p. 410.
[82] Liber J. T. 5, p. 298 (H. of R.).
[83] Steiner, "Kent Fort Manor," pp. 254-255.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] Liber J. T. 5, p. 298.

" Widow's dower " she retained 175 acres [86] which was to become Kent Point Farm, or, as it was locally called, Widow's Dower. In 1875 one of her sons sued her on the grounds that she had claimed too large a share for widow's dower.

One of her sons, John Cray, eventually received the farm now known as Tanner Farm [87] and, jointly with his brother Thomas R. Cray, the farm located to the north of the Tanner farm and known at the present day as Kent Fort Manor.[88] In 1881 we find that both the Tanner and Kent Fort Manor Farms were held jointly by John Cray and James Frank Cray.[89] In 1885, by a deed of partition, the joint holding was divided between James F. Cray and John Cray, the former receiving the northern part, or Kent Fort Manor, and the latter the Tanner Farm.[90] Both James F. Cray and his brother John are reputed to have been spendthrifts and to have made great debts. John lost his farm for his debts in 1890 [91] and James lost his for the same reason in 1919.[92] Their father, Richard Cray, was the last person who possessed one entire moiety of the original Kent Fort Manor for any length of time. In the present century the various farms composing the southern moiety have changed hands numerous times. In general the land has been purchased and sold for speculative reasons.

[86] " Suit of James F. Cray vs. Martha Goodhand," etc., Liber J. W. 5, April 29, 1875, Judgment Record in extenso, p. 622.
[87] Liber J. N. W. 12, April 14, 1881, p. 193 ff. (H of R.).
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] Liber S. W. 12, p. 191 (H. of R.).
[90] Liber S. C. D. 5, p. 348, and January 1, 1885, p. 484 (H. of R.).
[91] Liber W. D. 5, December 3, 1899, p. 199 (H. of R.).
[92] Liber S. F. R. 1, January 4, 1919, p. 465 (H. of R.).

LAFAYETTE'S LETTERS TO ELIZA RIDGELY OF HAMPTON

Edited by JAMES W. FOSTER

THE observance this year of the bicentennial of the birth of Lafayette affords occasion for publication of a group of his letters to a Baltimore belle of 1824-1825, letters not themselves of special importance, which yet reveal the gallantry and chivalric feelings of a great heart. The few letters that have survived give but a glimpse of a friendship, a charming episode in Gallic vein, between a man of sixty-six and a girl of twenty-one. Except for three now in the Society's collections, all of them are owned by descendants of the lady.

The letters remind us of the warm feelings, ardent on both sides, that linked Lafayette with the people of Maryland. These ties sprang from the heroic measures taken in Baltimore in April, 1781, as Lafayette passed through with his troops on the way to Virginia. He had no stomach for the festivities given in his honor and at a ball he made known to some of the ladies the distress among his men, who were in desperate need of clothing and food. Immediately the women of Baltimore rallied to the crisis. They gathered materials, cut out, and sewed a vast amount of clothing. It was an act that the Marquis never forgot. Furthermore, the merchants lent him at this time the sum of £1,550 to purchase supplies for which Lafayette gave his personal security. After Yorktown he was again in Baltimore and was lavishly entertained. "My campaign began with a personal obligation to the inhabitants of Baltimore," he wrote, "at the end of it I find myself bound to them by a new tie of everlasting gratitude." Especially touching to Lafayette was the action of the Maryland legislature in 1784 when it bestowed citizenship upon him and his male descendants forever.

After the Revolution the tie was maintained with Maryland through numerous friendships. DuBois Martin, who had fur-

nished the vessel on which Lafayette in 1776 had secretly left France for the United States, was now a resident of Baltimore. So, too, was Joseph Townsend, a Pennsylvania Quaker who had been among the first to aid the Marquis when wounded at Brandywine. There were many Revolutionary officers with whom he had served, among them Colonel John Eager Howard, General Smith, and General Robert Goodloe Harper.

Another Marylander, Colonel George E. Mitchell of Cecil County, was largely instrumental in forging a new link. A member of the House of Representatives in 1824, he it was who offered the resolution to invite Lafayette to revisit this country as the guest of the nation, and later introduced him when he was received by Congress.

Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, the lady to whom these charming letters were written, was the daughter of Nicholas Greenberry Ridgely, a cousin of the Ridgelys of Hampton, a prominent merchant and a citizen of high repute. Eliza was born in 1803 and while still a young girl was hailed for her great beauty, intelligence and charm. Her full-length portrait at age sixteen, painted by Sully, is evidence of her comeliness and grace. Long known as "The Lady with the Harp," it was removed a few years ago from Hampton, where it had hung in the great hall for more than a century, to the National Gallery of Art.

How and when Miss Ridgely first met Lafayette is not known. Since many affairs in his honor were given in Baltimore between October 7 and December 29, 1824, when the first of these letters was written, there may have been many encounters between the two. Newspapers reported the dinner given by the lady's father to Lafayette's party when he returned from his triumphal tour of the country in late July of 1825, the last of many events in his honor in Annapolis and Baltimore.[1]

[1] In addition to owning three of these letters, the Society has others in the handwriting of Lafayette, as well as numerous objects and printed items associated with him. Most interesting of the letters is one written by Lafayette in 1831 to General Sam Smith, in which the Marquis referred to "the particular devotion that binds me to the beloved city of Baltimore." This was acquired in 1946 as a gift from the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, then Mayor of Baltimore.

The Society is currently showing an important exhibition of Lafayette memorabilia.

For assistance in preparing these letters for publication, I am indebted to the individual owners named in each case and particularly to Mrs. Edith Rossiter Bevan who has kindly supplied most of the data regarding persons and events mentioned in the letters.

Spelling and the quixotic capitalization of the General have been altered in

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I cannot leave the city before I have expressed to Miss Ridgely my disappointment and regret to have missed every opportunity to pay my respects to her and particularly last evening['s] Ball upon which I had confidently depended. I shall take care to be more fortunate on my next visit to Baltimore [2] and in the mean while I have the honor to offer to her the affectionate respects of an old friend

Lafayette [3]

Baltimore December 29th [1824]

Miss Ridgely

Baltimore

My two companions beg to be respectfully remembered.[4]

II

On Board the Brandywine [5] September 9^{h} 1825

The disappointment I have felt, in being deprived of the gratification to see you once more, dear Miss Ridgely, could not receive a more soothing consolation than from the kind letter with which you have been pleased to bless me. You have inspired me, as early as the first days of our acquaintance, my old age permits me to say so, with sentiments of the highest admiration, affectionate friendship, and I will also allow myself to add of tender gratitude. I was anxious to obtain the permission you give me to call you my dear young friend. Let me hear from you, and of

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these letters to conform to modern usage. Grammar and punctuation remain as in the original. A few bracketed entries, for the sake of clarity, have been supplied by the editor. All letters are in English except No. 9.

Useful references to Lafayette during the period here covered occur in Brand Whitlock, *LaFayette* (New York, 1929), vol. II; J. B. Nolan, *Lafayette Day by Day* (Baltimore, 1934); A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825* (Philadelphia, 1829); Harry Worcester Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (Albany, N. Y., 1936), for Skinner; John Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874); *Niles' Weekly Register*, 1824, 1825; and contemporary newspapers of Maryland.

[2] Lafayette's first stay in Baltimore after his arrival in New York was October 7-12. Other visits in 1824 were November 23-29 and December 26-28. The ball was given at the rooms of the Baltimore Assembly, northeast corner of Fayette and Holliday Streets. In 1825 Lafayette was in Baltimore January 19-21 and 28-29, February 3-4 and July 30-August 1.

[3] Letter presented in 1957 to the Society by Mr. Harold E. Weber, of London, England, through Mrs. R. H. Weingart, of New York City, and Mrs. John A. B. Fisher, of Baltimore. Mr. Weber happened to find it among family papers and sought a suitable home for it. It arrived during the preparation of the other letters for publication.

[4] The companions were a son, George Washington Lafayette and a secretary, August Levasseur. A valet, Bastien, also traveled with the Marquis.

[5] The new frigate put at Lafayette's service for his return to France by the United States. The Government also voted him $200,000 as a present besides 24,000 acres of land in Florida.

every thing that can interest you. I would be very unhappy to give up the hope that we will meet again in America. But I cherish a nearer expectation that of your voyage to France. The answer of your excellent father, the evident advantages relative to your health, and I am both proud and happy to add your own kind wish to delight your old friend and his family with your presence at La Grange [6] encourage me to anticipate that unexpressible [*sic*] satisfaction. Surrounded as I have been yesterday, I could not find a moment to write, and while after having taken an affecting leave I was going to bid adieu to my young friend, an invitation from her Baltimorian fellow citizens brought me to the steamboat.[7] These lines will come to you by Norfolk and Washington. We are under sail, and tomorrow my eyes will no more behold this beloved shore. Present my affectionate good wishes to your, and all other friends, particularly to your father who, I hope, will continue to be a sharer in the mutual friendly regard that bind [*sic*] me to his dear daughter. Farewell, and think often of your tenderly devoted old friend

Lafayette [8]

My companions beg to be remembered most respectfully and affectionately to you.

Miss Ridgely

Baltimore Maryland

III

La Grange, October 29th 1826

The greatest pleasure I could receive, next to a letter from you, my amiable young friend, was to see a person who had seen you, conversed with you, and brought me from you expressions of kind remembrance. That obligation I have to lieutenant Mahan [9] and I take the opportunity of Captain Allyn's departure [10] to offer the most affectionate acknowledgements. With several Baltimorians I have also the gratification to talk of dear Miss Ridgely, and lately with Miss Gallatin [11] and her parents

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[6] The chateau that was Lafayette's country home, 30 miles southeast of Paris.

[7] Baltimore admirers of the Marquis chartered the steamer *Constitution* to take them down the Bay to the mouth of the Potomac where they met the *Brandywine* and were guests at a collation aboard it with Lafayette present. Among these visitors was Eliza's father. The latter no doubt was the bearer of her letter which Lafayette is acknowledging.

[8] Original in Society's collection. Gift of Mr. John Campbell White, 1954.

[9] Dennis Hart Mahan (1802-1871), lieutenant of engineers, then abroad to study means of improving courses of instruction at West Point. He became the father of Admiral A. T. Mahan.

[10] Evidently Captain Francis Allyn, who was entrusted with delivery of the letter (see address at end). He was master and part owner of the *Cadmus*, the merchant vessel on which the Marquis took passage to New York in 1824. For this voyage Lafayette declined the offer of an American frigate.

[11] Daughter of Albert Gallatin, American minister to France 1816-1823, to England 1826-1827. Her mother was Hannah Nicholson, daughter of Commodore James Nicholson of Maryland.

who paid a short visit to Paris where I went to meet them. But I receive no satisfactory encouragement for my cherished hopes to see you on this side of the Atlantic, and still worse than this, it is said that you express a personal reluctance for a sea voyage. Let me flatter myself it is not the case, and that as soon as your excellent father, to whom I beg you to present my affectionate regards, will think it in his power to cross the ocean, no difficulty will be started on your part. I confess I may be thought selfish and prejudiced, as one who thinks and speaks in his own cause, but I really believe your health would be much benefited by a visit to Europe. My family join in the fond request as they have been partakers in the expectation. Next spring would be the most proper season. We have had the pleasure to receive at La Grange several American visits and now Mrs. Shaw, Gen. Greene's daughter, Mrs. Greene,[12] her niece, with a young sister, and Mrs. Allyn, formerly Miss Colden of N. Y.[13] have been pleased to make La Grange their home until the month of January when we all go to town for the remainder of the winter season. Cannot we hope, my three daughters and myself, that the same favor may be by you and Mr. Ridgely conferred upon us.

Altho I much repine at the distance that separates me from my friends in the U. S. I find means to keep myself informed not only of political matters, internal improvements, party quarrels and electioneering mutations, but also of every social concerns [*sic*] in the several parts of the Union. You do me the justice to think the Baltimore [newspaper] articles are not neglected. There I find that Miss Magruder has changed her name, but nothing says whether the bride is our young friend.[14] In both cases I beg you to present my respects to her.

I am quietly on my farm, much interested with agricultural pursuits, surrounded by my numerous and affectionate family, and receiving friendly visits. Our country enjoyments are at this moment much disturbed by the severe illness of one of my sons in law, Lewis Lasteyrie, who is, we hope, just out of danger but very weak still in body and mind.

My son, [and] M. Levasseur lately married to a young German lady, desire their best respects to you in which my daughters and granddaughters beg leave to join. Mr. Mahan is gone to Paris to consult physicians on the fitness of a journey to the south. His health requires close attention but is not worse. I have under my care a young Baltimorian, Frederick Skinner, who is a most amiable boy.[15] Adieu, dear Miss Ridgely. With

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[12] Wife of a nephew of General Nathanael Green. See D. S. Wilson's narrative of a visit to Lafayette in 1826, printed in this *Magazine,* II (1907), 310-315.

[13] Wife of Captain Allyn. Both Allyns were guests at La Grange. Edward Everett Dale, ed., *Lafayette Letters* [to Captain Allyn] (Oklahoma City, 1925).

[14] Probably a daughter of Richard B. Magruder (1787-1844), member of the Baltimore bar, who had entertained Lafayette in 1824.

[15] Son of Col. John Stuart Skinner, companion of Francis Scott Key before and during the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Founder of the *American Farmer* and the *American Turf Register*, the elder Skinner in 1824 served as guide during part of Lafayette's visit to Maryland. Frederick Skinner as a youth spent four years in France where he was educated under Lafayette's guidance. He was often at La Grange.

perfect confidence I presume to depend on your precious continued kindness to

Your forever affectionate old friend

Lafayette [16]

Miss Ridgely
Baltimore
State of Maryland
Care of Captain Allyn
[Endorsement] forwarded by yr. vy. huml. st. Francis Allyn

IV

La Grange July 28 1827

It is a very long while since I had the pleasure to hear from you, my dear friend, yet my ambition has gone farther than looking for letters, however gratifying, and I may add, necessary, they are to me. I cannot get out of my head, so deep it is fixed in my heart, that you will make a voyage on this side of the Atlantic. It was the last word of your good father when we parted on board the Brandywine. Your health seems to require it. His circumstances, and so far as I know, your own, my amiable friend, present no actual obstacle to that excursion, and if to general inducements you condescend to add those of personal friendship I can assure you and you will, I hope, easily believe that in no family, on either hemisphere, your presence could be more respectfully and affectionately welcomed, and in one instance create more delight than on the colony of La Grange. Indeed on the approach of every regular packet I cannot help indulging a thought that perhaps the father & daughter are passengers on board. In the meanwhile I have now and then the pleasure to talk of my Baltimorian friends with some of your travelling fellow citizens, or other American visitors.

We are, my children, grandchildren, and myself in our rural retirement where three great grand little daughters have been lately brought to me from Flanders by their young mother to assist at the marriage of her sister, Louisa Maubourg, with Hector de Perron, a Pie[d]montese by birth but a late French officer naturalized a Frenchman, one of the leaders of the attempted revolution in Pie[d]mont, for which he is still under capital condemnation. Another wedding I contemplate before the end of the year, a third grand daughter, Natalie Lafayette, being engaged to an accomplished young man, nephew to Casimir Perier, the eloquent and patriot member of the Chambre des Deputés. I have been lately engaged also, not so much to that house, between which and me there is neither sympathy or reciprocity of any sort, but to a neighbouring electoral district who thought fit to put forth my name as a manifestation of principles, and to give me a personal mark of affection, so that on those two accounts I was induced to accept the charge.[17]

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[16] Original owned by Mr. John Campbell White.

[17] He was re-elected in 1827 to the Chamber of Deputies for the Department of Meaux.

In the numerous invoices of newspapers which every packet brings to me, I am far from confining my attention to political matters. Private concerns, domestic occurrences, changes of names in my young friends are anxiously searched in the American columns, so that, surrounded as I am with American gifts, remembrances, relics, and deeply, tenderly impressed with American feeling, I exist as much on your side of the water as my material situation can permit.

My son is now with his second daughter in the mountains of Auvergne, my native place. The rest of my family beg to be respectfully presented to you. Great use is made every evening of the beautiful music book for which I request you will renew our acknowledgements to the young amiable donators. [*sic*]. Be pleased to offer my affectionate compliments to Mr. Ridgely, to our young friends, and think some times of the old friend who is forever devoted to you by every sentiment of admiration, affection and respect.

Lafayette [18]

Miss Ridgely,
Baltimore, Maryland

[Endorsement] Rcd. & forwarded by
Your obt. Svt
Wm. Whitlock Jr.[19] at New York 10th Sept. 1827

V

Paris March 30th 1828

My dear young friend

I hope you do too much justice to my tender affection not to have anticipated the emotions excited in my breast by the information that Miss Ridgely had changed if not her name, at least her situation and that the happy man has been found who was to fix her choice. I will not on the occasion pour out assurances which you know to be superfluous, but I am sure you will affectionately receive my sympathies, blessings and best wishes.[20]

The beginning of this year has proved [?] to me very unfortunate. Two of my grand daughters Louisa Maubourg and Natalie Lafayette had been within the last ten months most happily married. The former has been snatched from us in the bloom of her youth and her felicity. I have also lost an old intimate friend and relation. Those heavy blows fell upon me while confined by a serious indisposition of which, after more than two months I am now convalescent. The last accounts from the U. S. have announced the loss of two valuable friends, General Brown and Governor Clinton.[21]

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[18] Original owned by Mr. White.

[19] Lafayette's American business agent.

[20] Eliza Ridgely (1803-1867), was married to her widower cousin, John Ridgely of Hampton, son of Governor Charles Ridgely, on January 8, 1828.

[21] General Jacob Brown (1775-1828) of Pennsylvania, commander-in-chief of the Army. Governor DeWitt Clinton, of course, was the chief executive of New York.

Be pleased, dear friend, to present my best regards to MM. Ridgely husband and father. Will not the former think of revisiting Europe? Will you not accompany him? How happy the American colony of La Grange would be to receive you both I know you do not question. Remember me to our friends, and believe me for the remainder of my advanced life

Your affectionate friend

Lafayette [22]

My son and M. Levasseur beg their best respects to be presented to you

Mrs. Ridgely,
Baltimore, State of Maryland

VI

Paris July 26th 1828

My dear Mrs. Ridgely, Your old friend has been long expecting an answer to the letter he wrote as soon as public report and more positive intelligence had informed him Mr. J. Ridgely was a very happy man. My tender sympathies and affectionate wishes in every thing that concern[s] you, the less they can be questioned, the more I am anxious to hear from yourself of your welfare. I beg you to present my best regards to your husband, father, and to our friends. Can I hope [for] the inexpressible pleasure to welcome you at La Grange?

Permit me to introduce to you a very amiable young lady, Miss V. . . . [illegible] whose father is a very distinguished Dutch gentleman and who herself can be called an American, having been educated at New Haven, and professing all the feelings of a native of the U. S.

Most affectionately forever

Your devoted friend

Lafayette [23]

Mrs. Ridgely
Baltimore

VII

La Grange January 10th 1829

My dear Young friend

Public report having informed me that you had changed your situation, an event which excited in my heart the most lively and affectionate emotions, I hastened, not adequately to express my feelings, but to remind you there was on this side of the Atlantic an old man most deeply interested in all your concerns. No answer from you having reached me, and the

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[22] Original owned by Mr. White.

[23] Original in possession of Mr. John Ridgely of Hampton, great grandson of Eliza Ridgely.

miscarriages of a remote correspondence being the most satisfactory explanation, I will no longer await the arrival of the packets, before I again offer myself to you as a most sympathising friend, and devoted well wisher. My whole family to whom your marriage has been as important a news as if each of them had the honor of a personal intimate acquaintance, beg to be respectfully remembered and join in the hope that Mr. Ridgely will have no objection to cross again the ocean. Be pleased to present my best compliments to him and to your excellent father. Remember me also to Miss Magruder, to the amiable young ladies who presented my daughters with the precious Musical Book and to our other friends at Baltimore. Natalie is now the mother of a little girl. I am soon going to town for the opening of the French session, where two Republicans, George and myself, are endeavouring to do the little possible good in a less congenial order of things.[24] There is now in Paris a pretty numerous collection of American ladies from the several states. It reminds me, in some degree, of a Washington winter. Why not at a distance of forty miles from Baltimore, and why are you not one of the welcome visitors of the French capital? Be happy, dear madam, and don't forget

Your most affectionate friend

Lafayette [25]

Mrs. Ridgely, Baltimore, Maryland
[Endorsement] Rec & forwarded by your Obt Svt
Wm. Whitlock Jr
N.Y. 10 March

VIII

Paris 7ber [September] 28 1831

My dear friend

It is an age since I had the pleasure to hear from you: of you, no doubt, I hear by every opportunity of information I can obtain. For a long time I have flattered myself with the hope that according to a [*sic*] old medical advice [?], your own inclination a few years ago, and the acquaintance of Mr. Ridgely with this side of the Atlantic, you might be induced to visit France. A thought the dearer to me as in the political European whirlwind where I find myself inclosed, any fixed plan of a voyage to America can only be delightfully dreamed of. Yet, and notwithstanding my advanced time of life, I would feel miserable indeed, was I convinced that the beloved shores are no more by me to be seen again. In the meanwhile, my dear friend, let me hope I may have the pleasure to welcome you and family in this country. Public papers inform you of what passes in Europe. I am sure your noble feeling heart [?] has often

[24] Both Lafayette and his son were deputies in the lower house of assembly, striving to advance democratic ideas in the face of an ultra-royalist government.
[25] Original owned by Mr. White.

beaten for the fate of Poland.[26] Be pleased to remember me to Mr. Ridgely, to our friends, and think often of your most affectionate friend

Lafayette [27]

Mrs. Ridgely, Baltimore

IX

Paris, February 14 1834

I received your good letter, my dear friend, with very keen pleasure. My heart sought you out in your Italian travels & I thank you for having in part fixed my ideas about your visits in different places. I see with pleasure that you were pleased with Rome and with the French Ambassador and I am happier than I can express, in hoping that your stay in Paris will be prolonged further than you had at first decided. Give my friendly regards to Mr. Ridgely and to your good companions, not forgetting the little traveller.[28] I am writing by a secretary, my dear friend, because an indisposition which is not dangerous, is keeping me in bed for some time yet. You have perhaps come across the Gazettes de France in some Embassy or Consulate abroad, for instance the national edition of Sunday? and of Monday the 3rd of February: in it you would have seen that one of my colleagues and friends Mr. Dulong was hit by a bullet in a duel with a member of the other side of the Chamber, General Bugeaud, who was in command of the castle of Blaye during the captivity and childbirth of the Duchess of Berry; that George was one of the seconds and experienced the sorrow of seeing him fall dead; that his funeral was the occasion for one of the greatest manifestations of public opinion that has taken place and that I was the object of the most lively displays of public affection and confidence; but this all day ceremony was tiring for everyone and for me resulted in a sort of inflammation which has kept me in bed since that time and will do so for some time longer; but my condition is not at all dangerous and in a few days I shall be up. I hope that you will continue to enjoy the lovely climate and pleasures of Italy. But don't think that it is very cold in Paris. There has not been one day with ice, and at La Grange I could only offer you the little that has remained from last year. The carnival was very lively in Paris; we have had some very agreeable American reunions. Our female fellow citizens have also had a good time at the gatherings at the Tuileries, where I could not have followed them as in the old days, but where I see with pleasure that they are always well received.[29] It is today that they

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[26] A revolt against Russian domination raged from January, 1831, till its suppression in September of the same year, ending in the loss of Polish independence.

[27] Original in possession of Dr. William D. Hoyt.

[28] A daughter Eliza had been born to the Ridgelys October 28, 1828. She married John Campbell White and was the grandmother of the owner of Letters III, IV, V, VII and X. After Mr. White's death she married Dr. Thomas Buckler.

[29] Though in 1830 he had aided in placing Louis Philippe on the throne, the monarch's reassertion of ancient royal privileges had alienated the "Hero of Two Worlds." He preferred to remain aloof from court life but was pleased that Americans ("my female fellow citizens") were received.

nominate the Reporter of the Committee on the treaty; in eight or ten days the debate will begin; I think it will be brief & will prove favorable for the appropriation. I hope to be well enough to vote.

It is probable that you will meet on your travels, to be specific, at Bologna, someone I like very much, that is the famous Madame Malibran, a performer at the New York opera and the greatest singer and actor in Europe, who is endowed with most amiable qualities.[30]

All my family are here, the young people have made the most of the carnival. We often speak of you, my dear friends, and it will be a great treat to see you again. Take care to remember me to my friends and fellow citizens, ladies and men, from the U. S. who are travelling in Italy. A man of great worth has just left for that country, namely Mr. Gardner, former mayor of Troy, a friend of the celebrated Mrs. Villard and of Mrs. Tayloe of Washington.[31] If you can do something nice for him on his journey, you will give me pleasure. From Lyons I have good news of my twelfth great grandchild. The little boy of Natalie Périer is better.

Goodbye, my dear friend. Accept the tenderest good wishes of your old and devoted friend

LaFayette [32]

[In English:] Don't be in your kindness uneasy about me. I shall in a few days be back again.

To Mrs. Ridgely
c/o Messrs. Falconnet
At Naples, Italy

X

I hope, my dear friend, you will have received the answer to your most welcome letter. But altho' I don't know where these lines may reach you, and flatter myself with the expectation of your speedy arrival, I must indulge the pleasure to let you hear of your old affectionate fellow citizen. I have been for six weeks confined to my bed and room, nor am I as yet perfectly restored to health. But there is no danger in my situation, and by the time you come I will be quite well.[33] I have had the gratification to see American travellers who had met you in Italy. The Paris winter has been uncommonly mild. We receive our weekly letters and papers where I find the lamentable loss of a New York friend

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[30] Marie Malibran, a Parisian diva who was acclaimed in Paris, Italy and New York.

[31] A Daniel Gardner was an alderman of Troy in 1826. Mrs. Villard remains unidentified; Mrs. Tayloe was no doubt one of the family of that name of Washington, D. C., and Mount Airy, Va.

[32] Original in French, written by an amanuensis but signed by Lafayette, in Society's collection. Gift of Mr. John Campbell White, 1954.

[33] Lafayette died at his Paris home on May 20, 1834. His end, like Washington's, resulted from a severe cold following exposure.

of mine, Mr. Cadwalader Colden.[34] These afflicting intelligences are a great draw back upon the pleasure I feel in the frequent and regular communications from the U. S. It appears the announced failures are not so bad as had been apprehended. The American treaty has been reported to the House of Deputies.[35] Its passage will take place in a few days. My family are well and beg their tender regards to you. Remember us very affectionately to Mr. Ridgely, the ladies, and the young traveller.

Adieu, my beloved friend, and return soon to us.

LaFayette [36]

Paris March 16th 1834

A Madame Ridgely

En Italie

[34] Mayor of New York and member of Congress.

[35] For settlement of the American Spoliation claims against France, by which in 1836 the sum of 25 million francs was paid.

[36] Original owned by Mr. White.

SIDELIGHTS

A WILLIAM CARMICHAEL LETTER TO ELBRIDGE GERRY, 1780

Edited by DAVID H. FISCHER

A native of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, William Carmichael was educated in Edinburgh and was residing in London when the American Revolution began. He moved to Paris and quickly gained the confidence of the American envoys there, becoming private secretary to Silas Deane. Carmichael was given many tasks which required secrecy and dispatch; it was he who secured Lafayette's active participation in the American cause.[1] Carmichael was also instrumental in persuading the French to salute John Paul Jones's American ensign, an act which proved the harbinger of French assistance and American independence.

In 1788, Carmichael returned to America and was elected to represent Maryland in the Continental Congress. It was here, serving on the Committee on the Treasury, that he met Elbridge Gerry. Carmichael resigned his seat in September, 1799, to become John Jay's secretary for the American negotiations with Spain. The Jay mission was doomed from its inception by political conditions in Spain—the instability of the Spanish Court, and the cynicism of the ministers with whom Jay and Carmichael were forced to deal. Much, indeed, depended on the personalities of Spanish ministers, particularly the most powerful of them, the Count de Florida Blanca. Even Thomas Jefferson, no friend of William Carmichael, wrote, "[Carmichael] has more of the Count de Florida Blanca's friendship than any diplomatic character at that court. As long as this minister is in office Carmichael can do more than any other person who could be sent there." [2]

After the Jay mission failed, Carmichael remained in Madrid as chargé d'affaires until he was relieved by William Short in 1790. He died in 1795. Had any man been able to penetrate the bewildered, blundering web of Spanish policy, Carmichael would have done so. He was disliked by many of his countrymen, perhaps for his success in reaching a basis for rapport with European nobility. Carmichael has generally been dismissed as a "highly unsuccessful minister," [3] but there is ample proof that he

[1] David Goldsmith Loth, *The People's General; The Personal Story of Lafayette,* (New York: Scribners, 1951), p. 51 ff.

[2] Quoted by Samuel Glenn Coe in "The Mission of William Carmichael to Spain," *JHU Studies in Hist. and Pol.* Sc., ser. XLVI, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1928), p. 107.

[3] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 104.

was a highly capable one. The following letter from the Society's collections is valuable not only because of the paucity of Carmichael manuscripts, but also for the biographical information which it contains.

Madrid 18th Oct. 1780

Dear Sir

I have been now 12 months from America without a single line from you on whose punctuality and friendship I most counted. What hath caused this long silence. I bore it with some degree of patience, until I found Mr Jay had received a letter from you, without being accompanied by one for me by the same opportunity. Since my arrival here I have written repeatedly to you, not only letters of advice respecting your commissions, but even those of friendship founded on the opinion I entertained of you during our long acquaintance at the Board of Treasury.[4] With respect to the 1st object let me repeat once more what I have done. As soon as I arrived at Madrid & had time to look about me I wrote to Mr Ross [5] in France & sent him a copy of the articles yourself and Mr Peabody [6] desired me in case of my arrival in that country to purchase for you, requesting him to send them by the first safe conveyance to America. He wrote me, that the Alliance would soon sail, and that he would ship them in that vessel, of this I gave you immediate advice, nor did I hear more of the affair until the quarrel between Jones & Landais took place,[7] after this Mr Ross advised me that the articles for yourself Mr Peabody & several others had not been embarked in that vessel for the reason before mentioned but that Jones in the Ariel would charge himself with the care of them. I immediately informed you of this circumstance having for security judged it best to ship them in a Frigate & knowing that being articles of very little bulk & occupying the Captns Quarters, that no complaint could be reasonably made at their being shipped in a Continental vessel, which would even have been the case had we arrived in France in the Confederacy.[8] I cannot answer yt the quality of the articles will be to your satisfaction, because I had not the choice of them, but I neither

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[4] In 1778, Carmichael and Gerry were members of the Continental Congress's Committee on the Treasury.

[5] John Ross, a Scot from Philadelphia and a commercial agent in Nantes during the American Revolution.

[6] Probably Nathaniel Peabody, a delegate to the Continental Congress from New Hampshire.

[7] This is in reference to the feud between John Paul Jones and Pierre Landais, Captain of the fine French frigate *Alliance*, assigned to Jones's squadron when *Bon Homme Richard* engaged HMS *Serapis*. Jones reported that Landais participated in the action only by firing a few random shots into *Bon Homme Richard*, and when he reached port hoisted his flag in *Alliance*, relieving Landais of command. The French Captain retaliated by virtually stealing *Alliance* and putting to sea in her. Jones was given frigate *Ariel* in which he sailed for America.

[8] The vessel which carried Carmichael and Jay to Spain. She was supposed to make a French port, to allow the envoys to Spain to confer with the Americans in Paris, but was forced into Cadiz by units of the Royal Navy.

could have procured them in Spain had I desired, nor if I had, could I have done it at less than a third more than where they have been purchased. I hope you will get them safe & thus much for that business. The only proof you can give me of your satisfaction, is to employ me again in the same way. Your residence in Congress must have made you acquainted with the nature of our transactions here. I shall therefore say not much more on that subject than that your bills hitherto have been accepted, & that I hope the means will not be wanting to pay them when they become due, but the expedient was a dangerous one, altho' justifiable from the situation of Congress & the hopes they had been taught to entertain. I hope it will never again be repeated & even now stopped, if its operation hath not taken full effect. For beleive me Mexican Dollars are almost as rare here, as I wish paper ones to be in America. We have received far more than 100000 Dollars already & these must be paid in less than 5 months, every post brings us more for their circulation is current in Europe. Smiths [9] reconsideration of a certain question hath retarded our business here & will retard it. I hope and ardently wish the situation of America may be such as to preserve the rights of all the States. Of that Congress at the close of the Campaign will be the best judge. At all events the continuance of the same vigor union & perseverance will contribute more to their success than a thousand such insignificant beings as myself—Europe hath not as yet taken its tone for the Winter, because it doth not think the Campaign [10] as yet finished. I make no doubt many intrigues & propositions towards an accommodation will take place, as hath been in some measure the case particularly at this Court, during the course of the Summer. In these propositions and intrigues we can only be certain of France, for however well we may think of this Country from past favors & events present, they are under no engagement to us, and perhaps may think to find their advantage from the complaisance of others, when they do not find it in us. This is rather a conjecture proceeding from anxiety, than founded on information, because we have had the strongest assurances that our Interests will never be relinquished by his C[atholic] M[ajesty]—But neither the Same Prince or Some Ministers may exist long enough to bring our affairs to an honorable close. I have a great share of scepticism in politics except on one point, which is our Independence, but altho I am orthodox in this, I cannot be unconcerned less than the Apostles for the Church for the Persecutions that this in my time as well as that in theirs was like to suffer. I hope your Presbyterianism will not revolt at the comparison, and therefore in this hope shall proceed with my Epistle to the Disciples in Newberry or wherever the True Brethren like yourself are Established. Continue the Good Fight—array yourselves in armor, or in plain Modern Congressional Eng-

[9] Mr. Smith is not identified.

[10] The summer and early fall of 1780 is a dreary period in patriot histories of the American Revolution, with the defeat at Camden and the defection of Benedict Arnold. Word of these disasters had apparently not reached Carmichael, and the "Campaign" to which he refers is probably the arrival of Rochambeau and his troops in Newport in July.

lish or American, make the greatest Exertions thro the whole course of the winter to seize occasions which it may offer & to take the field the next campaign sooner than we have ever done hitherto. This will give an opinion of our perseverence & resources worth to us the mines of Potosi or the diamonds of Brazil, for it will render us respectable to our friends as well as to our enemies. Our news from you lately have been for us & for you like the Manna to the Jews, who in my humble opinion never deserved miracles more than we have done, altho I would neither say this to Doctor Cooper or Mr Gordon.[11] It hath depressed our foes, confounded their abettors, elated our friends & made me almost a prophet, without any title to the character but poverty & much enthusiasm. If you are inclined to ante me, you will always find opportunities from Newberry Boston or its vicinage to Bilbao—I beg you to mention me in the proper manner to all our mutual acquaintances & to beleive me

Always

Wm Carmichael

Your obliged & Humble Sert

THE NAMING OF MONKTON MILLS

By Esther Clark Wright

It would not be expected that the explanation of a Maryland place name would be found among the papers in the Department of Lands and Mines in the Province of New Brunswick in Canada. Neither would it be expected, perhaps, that a romance would lie behind the naming of Monkton Mills.

The story begins with three Swiss officers who took service, during the eighteenth century, in the British army. One of the three, George Frederic Wallet Desbarres, making a survey of the coasts of Nova Scotia, was much impressed with the possibilities of the unoccupied lands in that area and urged upon his brother officers, Henry Bouquet and Frederic Haldimand, who were with the forces on the western edge of Pennsylvania, the advisability of getting grants in this new colony. Nova Scotia had recently been ceded to the British and the governor was anxious to fill with Protestant settlers the lands from which the Acadians had been removed. Haldimand persuaded his business agent in New York, Hugh Wallace, and another friend to join in soliciting lands, and Bouquet associated in the enterprise a Pennsylvanian who had proved himself very successful in supplying the

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[11] Perhaps Mr. Gordon is Lord George Gordon, a convert to Judaism who led the Gordon riots against Roman Catholicism in the summer of 1780. Dr. Cooper is unidentified.

troops, under Bouquet's command, Adam Hoops. Adam Hoops' nephew, Robert Cummings, was also interested in the affair.

Meanwhile, several groups of Philadelphia merchants and traders had interested themselves in obtaining lands in Nova Scotia, and, in 1765, sent agents up to Nova Scotia to look over the territory and to obtain grants before the Stamp Act went into effect. One of these groups, of which Benjamin Franklin was a silent partner, and his friend, John Hughes, the active partner, sent Anthony Wayne as their agent. From Wayne's reports to John Hughes and from the grants that were made, it is clear that there was much jockeying for position and much pulling of wires at Halifax. In the end, Haldimand, Bouquet, and three of their friends, received a grant of Hopewell township, 100,000 acres at the head of the Bay of Fundy and on the estuary of the Petitcodiac River. Hillsborough township, 100,000 acres south of the bend of the Petitcodiac, was granted to several members of the Nova Scotia Council and Robert Cummings, Adam Hoops' nephew. The old French names for the areas, Chipody and Petitcodiac, derived from the Indian descriptions of the rivers, were discarded in favour of those of two of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. A third township, north of the Petitcodiac River, extending from the bend of the river to the head of tide, was granted to four groups of Philadelphia merchants and the man who claimed to have aroused their interest in the region, Alexander MacNutt. This area was named Monckton, for Colonel Robert Monckton, second son of John, first Viscount Galway, and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Manners. Robert Monckton, after the capture of Louisbourg, had directed the conquest of the part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy.

The Hopewell partners entrusted the management of their affairs to a trader from Pennsylvania, Thomas Calhoun. Robert Cummings went up to Nova Scotia to look after his share of Hillsborough township, and Anthony Wayne accompanied several Pennsylvania families, mostly German in origin, to Monckton in 1766. Robert Cummings remained for a few years on the Petitcodiac, perhaps until 1771, when he was recalled to Philadelphia by the death of his uncle, Adam Hoops. His friends there disapproved of his returning to Nova Scotia and persuaded him to settle closer at hand, near Baltimore. There, a few years later, he died. After his departure from the Petitcodiac, Robert Cummings had entrusted his affairs in that area to the care of Charles Baker, a young man from Virginia who had followed his sweetheart to Nova Scotia. The management of his lands was only part of the business Cummings asked Baker to supervise. The oversight of a boy and girl was one of his concerns and Cummings begged his friend to maintain a watch on the mother. The girl's mother was Rosanna Trites, the daughter of a Monckton settler. Whether she was also the mother of the boy is not clear, and there is no further mention of the boy on the Petitcodiac. Rosanna had apparently believed herself married to Robert Cummings, for the girl went by the name of Elizabeth Cummings. After the disappearance of Robert Cummings, Rosanna married a neighbouring settler, Christian Stieff or Steeves, whose will referred affectionately to his daughter, Elizabeth.

Charles Baker retained his interest in the affairs of his one time friend. When, after the coming of the Loyalist refugees from the thirteen colonies, the part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy was made into the province of New Brunswick, Charles Baker petitioned the new government on behalf of Elizabeth Cummings and obtained possession for her of a part of Robert Cummings' grant. To enforce her claim, Baker enclosed with his petition copies of Robert Cummings' disposal of his Petitcodiac lands in her favour and a copy of Robert's letter to him. In this letter, dated at Baltimore, July 19, 1773, Cummings says that when he last wrote he " expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you at Hillsborough before this time but my friends were much bent against my return to Nova Scotia to Settle since which I have purchased a Small Estate in Maryland within Twenty Miles of Baltimore which cost me 1400£ part of my Uncles Estate called and goes by the Name of Monckton Mills with the lands belonging thereto."

" I still have a liking to Nova Scotia," Robert Cummings continued, and promised to come next spring and give the people settled on his lands their deeds. In the meantime, he asked that Charles Baker hand over to Rosanna Trites the personal possessions he had left at " Chipotee," his uncle's township. Her friends, he suggested, were to barter these possessions for furs, " with which She may procure a handsome Stock of Cattle, that may prove something Considerable to her in time." This, he thought, with his thirds of the produce of his lands would be sufficient to support Elizabeth and her mother in that country till she was otherwise provided for.

Thus, because of his nostalgia for Nova Scotia, Robert Cummings named his new estate near Baltimore for Rosanna's home on the Petitcodiac. Curiously enough, the name of Monckton township on the Petitcodiac became ultimately Moncton, the city that grew up at the bend of the river. Monckton Mills, on the other hand, became Monkton Mills. The family in England retained the original spelling of the name.

MEMORANDUM for a Seine-Hauling, in Severn River, near a delightful Spring at the foot of Conftitution Hill.

Six Bottles of Wine, right old, good and clear;
A Dozen at leaft, of Englifh *Strong Beer:*
Six Quarts of good Rum, to make Punch and Grogg,
(The latter a Drink that's now much in vogue)
Some Cyder, if fweet, would not be amifs:
Of Butter fix Pounds, we can't do with lefs.
A Tea-Kettle, Tea, and all the Tea-Geer,
To Treat the Ladies; and alfo Small Beer.
Sugar, Lemons, a Strainer, likewife a Spoon;
Two China Bowls to drink out of at Noon:
A large piece of Cheefe, a Table-Cloth too,
A Sauce-Pan, two Difhes, and a Cork Screw:
Some Plates, Knives and Forks, Fifh Kettle, or Pot,
And Pipes and Tobacco muft not be forgot:
A Frying Pan, Bacon or Lard for to Fry;
A Tumbler and Glafs to ufe when we're dry.
A Hatchet, fome Matches, a Steel and a Flint,
Some Touch-wood, or Box with good Tinder in't.
Some Vinegar, Salt, fome Parfley and Bread,
Or elfe Loaves of Pone to eat in it's ftead:
And for fear of bad Luck at catching of Fifh,
Suppofe we fhould carry—A READY DRESS'D DISH.

Annapolis, Aug. 20. 1754.

(*The Maryland Gazette*, August 22, 1754, page 3.)

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Russell Smith, Romantic Realist. By VIRGINIA E. LEWIS. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1956. 255 pp. $5.

The text and illustrations contain material of special and local interest in various fields and cover the Eastern and " Near Eastern " United States. Painting, theatrical painting, architecture and topographical sketches are all of considerable importance as they fit into the proper niche in the American scene. In the book under discussion it is neither lack of material nor lack of knowledge, but editing and format which make it of less general interest than it should be. Had the various types of material been treated in different sections, each section would have been more easily evaluated and appreciated. As it is the peculiarly uneventful life of this artist is handled at length, chronologically, and the repetitive summations, classifications and adjectives are tedious.

Russell Smith was a competent and sensible man and successful in a small way. This reviewer feels that had his life been presented in a compressed manner and first his stage work, important in the history of the theatre, and then his easel painting and his sketches successively presented (with their development or lack of it), the whole would have been more readable and useful. As there are evidently account books, clipping books, letters and diaries these then could have been sorted into a much needed *catalogue raisonée*; the painter's working notes, with the sums the paintings, etc., fetched, and the reviewer's appreciations would have provided invaluable information. The taste, theory, working methods of an able man would thus have been presented in his own words, and the appreciation he received in his own time would also have been evident. Such material *in toto* is not usually available and its partial use, with sections of " descriptive catalogue " sentences, to pad text (rather than attached to the work or works which the material described) is both annoying and tantalizing.

The sixty illustrations make up the most important, interesting and attractive part of the book and are beautifully reproduced. But even here classification has been ignored and they do not appear to have been arranged by type, media, date or location. The Pennsylvania views are of interest historically and architecturally and one regrets the inferred loss of most of the Virginia ones. The two New York paintings are charming and so are the Baltimore and Washington views.

Careful, competent and able, rather than brilliant, Smith was very much a man of his times, and even there conservative, as one may gather from his comments on the " new " 1876 Pennsylvania Academy building and on the paintings there and in the Exposition at Memorial Hall (pages 223 and 233). Of unnamed paintings at the Academy he says: " Some of the

pictures (in the new style) with much primitive colour and no supporting shadow are distracting and neither natural nor good Art. I see nothing accomplished to detract from the old requisites of a good picture—modest colour broad light and . . . simplicity of parts and large portions of quiet repose supporting some principal part of interest." Smith's own work supported these tenets and the reproductions of his European views show that he not only echoed the contemporary standards, but also harked back to Claude and the Vernets (whose last waves of influence were appreciated in the New World). Had the theatrical quotations and cuts been blocked it would have been a happier arrangement. The sub-title of the book, "Romantic Realist," does seem appropriate and, as there is no list of Smith's works appended, it is the theatrical material in this volume which will be of most value.

The book brings on the stage again a delightful personality and character and a fine talent, but it leaves you very "hungry" and wanting more—lists of his works particularly.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Charleston, S. C.

"Philadelphia Scrapple" Whimsical Bits Anent Eccentrics & the City's Oddities. By SEVERAL ANONYMOUS PHILADELPHIANS. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1956. 225 pp. $5.

The authors' desire to remain anonymous was not confided to the publishers who state quite definitely on the jacket that the two active collaborators are Mrs. Henry Cadwalader and Harold Donaldson Eberlein. Both of these good Philadelphians are well able to annotate their native city; Mr. Eberlein in particular having many books to his credit.

The book is exactly what is says it is, chronicles of "respectable eccentrics," *respectable* meaning people of impeccable Philadelphia background, bearers of coats-of-arms, gourmets, builders of beautiful gardens, box holders at the opera, and endorsers of large checks. The stories are amusing to outsiders and side-splitting to Philadelphians of the old school.

Marylanders will resent their famous South River Club being called in one place, the "West River Club," and that its boast of being the oldest social club in America could be questioned. The ancient feud over the differences or likenesses of the potent punches of the South River Club and the State in Schuylkill, and, whether Baltimore terrapin or Philadelphia terrapin is more delicious, once again appears in print. Incidentally there are some excellent old receipts embedded in the pages of this book.

All in all this is a good-humored, readable social history for those who like conservative and sometimes eccentric people. What the young, for whom it was written, think of it we do not know, but it should enjoy a good sale as the perfect present for Grandma and as a permanent record of the pleasant foibles of a class fast disappearing into America's common denominator.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

Baltimore

Battle for Manhattan. By BRUCE BLIVEN, JR. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956. 128 pp. $3.50.

On September 15, 1776, General Sir William Howe landed his troops on Manhattan Island in an effort to defeat the rebel army of General George Washington, to separate New England from the rest of the colonies, and to capture a strategic base which would be a pleasant place in which to spend the winter. This book deals with that attempt on September 15 and the events of the next several days in considerable detail, as well as the implications of those days.

During his army training, Mr. Bliven took "terrain walks" in his classes. By these "terrain walks," the instructor leads his pupils over the local landscape while at the same time he discusses its military significance. This method of approach so fascinated the author that he and his wife walked over Manhattan Island's terrain to locate the present-day sites which figured so prominently in the Battle of Manhattan. The result is a meaningful and vivid account of the battle in which the reading of its strategy becomes far more intelligible.

Mr. Bliven tells his story in a popularly written narrative, portions of which have appeared in the *New Yorker*. He describes the American defense as weak because of the lack of military engineers and little knowledge of the principles of military engineering. He criticizes General Howe as being over-cautious in his strategy of managing an amphibious assault. Howe, he says, outmaneuvered Washington, but he failed to defeat him decisively. Bliven pays tribute to Smallwood's Marylanders for whom the British had great respect. To them, hunting shirts symbolized that their wearers were good shots. These troops blocked the enemy's path, held their ground, and offered the first organized resistance to the British Army in that battle. It was this resistance which convinced Americans that Howe's army was not invincible, and the outcome of the battle raised Army morale immeasurably.

This book represents a well-written account of the battle in terms of what the common soldier contributed. Although his first chapter sets the scene for the invasion of Manhattan and his final chapter assesses its outcome the remainder of the book considers small unit strategy. The book has excellent end-papers which show the map of Manhattan in 1776 and contrast it with the present day. Also included are 32 pages of contemporary portraits and engravings which add greatly to the book's interest. His essay on sources is both critical and valuable. The result is a thoroughly competent study of a battle which had such far-reaching effect on the morale of the American Army in the Revolutionary War.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

National Records Management Council

Gunner With Stonewall, Reminiscences of William Thomas Poague. Edited by MONROE F. COCKRELL. Introduction by BELL IRVIN WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1957. 181 pp. $5.95.

Unlike the batteries of artillery of the Union, whose identities were lost in the anonymity of alphabetical designation, those of the Confederacy were endowed with individual personalities by being named, generally after their commanders or the locality from which they came. Who has not read of Nelson's Virginia Battery, or Poague's, Carpenter's or Breathed's without wondering about the man whose name the unit bore and the men who handled its guns!

This interesting and very readable *Gunner With Stonewall* breathes life into Poague's "Company" (1st Rockbridge Battery) with its historic guns named "Matthew, Mark, Luke and John" and the battalion of artillery later commanded by Lt. Col. William T. Poague of Rockbridge County, Virginia. All this while the author takes us over the plains at First Manassas, with Stonewall Jackson in the Valley and on through the major engagements of the war.

Poague's memoir is a revealing story of a unit whose standing is high among its contemporaries and a modest portrait of the man whose strict discipline but human qualities largely helped place it there. It is a fine day-to-day account of life in the field of the much neglected artillery arm. Written almost forty years after the roar of battle had faded at Appomattox, it attests to a remarkable memory and to the indelible impression four years of arduous combat had made upon the author's mind. Prepared as a story for his children with no idea of publication, it is all the more interesting for its lack of formality and absence of editorial touch-up. It reveals the humor and the pathos, the exultation and the sorrow, the hardship and the suffering of the war just as Poague experienced them.

Not the least enjoyable is the just plain inability of the author to view as sacrosanct the actions and decisions of those of the higher echelons of rank. All, the high and the low, are the subjects of frank comment.

Of particular appeal are the letters (Appendix II) which Poague wrote to his mother and brother. More than anything else they show his deep religious feeling and his confidence of victory even to the last. They reveal a young man long away from home, happy at times but often homesick, longing to see and to hear from those from whom he had been so long parted. Indeed they demonstrate how vital to the well-being of troops in the field are a few lines from home.

Perhaps to be desired, in a story written so long afterwards, might be a passing salute to the *old enemy*, an acknowledgment that he, too, had his moments. Nearly a page is devoted to "a dozen Yankees" who demanded the battalion's flag at Appomattox, but nothing of the magnanimity displayed by the Blue in the Gray's most dismal hour, the recognition of which so characterizes Confederate writing of stature.

Well edited, nicely produced and with excellent photographs, the book will make a valuable addition to and help fill the void caused by the scarcity of unit histories on the Confederate bookshelf.

GEORGE T. NESS, JR.

Baltimore

Lee Chronicle. By CAZENOVE GARDNER LEE, JR. Compiled and edited by DOROTHY MILLS PARKER. New York: New York University Press, 1957. $6.50.

" The family of Lee," wrote John Adams in 1779, " has more men of merit in it than any other family." *Lee Chronicle*, a series of studies of the early generations of Lees, would seem to bear this out. Dorothy Mills Parker has skillfully edited and compiled into a cohesive unit numerous articles written over a period of years by the late Cazenove Lee, antiquarian of the Lee family.

Colonel Richard Lee, the Emigrant, landed in Virginia in 1640 to serve as aide to the colonial governor at Jamestown. He arrived on these shores of promise a patrimony-less younger son of a distinguished English family which proudly traced the fesse and billets of the Lee arms back to A. D. 1200. Vigorous of mind and body, the originator of the American line of Lees rose within two years to be the first Attorney General of Virginia. Six years later he became Secretary of State, and finally he reached the highest goal attainable by a colonial—membership in the King's Council. At his death, twenty-four years after emigrating, he was the wealthiest man in Virginia, leaving 13,000 acres of rich tobacco land to his heirs.

Lee Chronicle traces the history of this vigorous stock, with Philip, Thomas, and Henry Lee, grandsons of the hardy Emigrant, becoming the progenitors of the Maryland, Virginia, and Leesylvania (Prince William County) lines respectively. Philip Lee, first of the Maryland line, inherited lands in Charles County known as " Lee's Purchase "; his grandson, Thomas Sim Lee, a Revolutionary patriot, was twice elected governor of Maryland. Thomas Lee, head of the Virginia line and builder of Stratford Hall, a sturdy pile of brick on the Potomac cliffs, was father of the five famous patriot brothers: Thomas Ludwell, Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, William, and Arthur. This outstanding team of brothers worked mightily and tirelessly to bring about the birth of our great nation. The third, or Leesylvania, line produced Light Horse Harry Lee and his famous son, Robert E. Lee.

Besides telling of these Lee patriots, statesmen, plenipotentiaries, soldiers, signers of the Declaration of Independence, politicians, and pioneers in a new country, the pages of *Lee Chronicle* are thronged with other famous contemporaries—the Ludwells, Jenings, Harrisons, Washingtons, and Berkeleys, to mention but a few. Illustrations of many of these personages and their homes adorn the book, along with interesting maps and genealogical charts, and the Lee coat-of-arms.

Cazenove Lee's research and trips of genealogical exploration led him into fascinating bypaths of family lore. His history is sound and his telling of it makes the perusal of this fine volume worthwhile.

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

Baltimore

Stub Entries to Indents, Book C-F. Edited by WYLMA ANNE WATES. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1957. vii, 278 pp. $6.00.

Publication of this volume, part of a nearly completed set of thirteen volumes, is a fitting occasion to congratulate the South Carolina Archives Department (once called the South Carolina Historical Commission) on its fine publications program. The list of past and future volumes, easily procurable from the present archivist, Dr. J. H. Easterby, should be in every historical society library in the country, if only to serve as a stimulus to such institutions as are laggard in their public obligations.

For the uninitiated it should be explained that the term " stub entries " refers to stubs kept by South Carolina when it paid off, as it had to, with " IOU's " for supplies procured in the 1780's for her Army. Twenty-five books of Stub Entries form the basis of these volumes, of which the first thirteen " books " were edited (from 1934 on) by A. S. Salley.

The curious may be interested in two brief excerpts from this volume.

" No. 181 Book C. Issued—to Mr. Barnet Bruckner for Fourteen Pounds Sterling. Principal £14.0.0. Interest—."

" No. 61 Book F. Issued 10th February 1784 to The Reverend Mr. Robert Smith for Sixty two pounds eleven shillings and one penny Sterling for Beef for Continental Use in Decemr. 1781 And for the interment of 234 Soldiers from the General Hospital to 1st July 1779. Principal £62 11. 1 Interest £4 7. 6."

Miss Wates has done her work well, both in editing and indexing; the present reviewer's experience over 15 years with such minute fragments of Revolutionary history (as evinced in " Maryland State Papers " of which another volume will appear this year) is sufficient for him to recognize the conscientious care involved in such " diplomatic " renderings of documents.

ROGER THOMAS

Hall of Records
Annapolis

Documents of American Catholic History. Edited by JOHN TRACY ELLIS. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. 677 pp. $8.75.

A noted historian, The Right Reverend John Tracy Ellis, Professor of Church History at the Catholic University of America, has compiled in this volume a variety of documents ranging through papal bulls, encyclicals, state laws, charters, private letters, newspaper editorials and the writings of prominent Catholics. It covers the span from 1493, with Pope Alexander VI's bull dividing the new world between Spain and Portugal, to Pope Pius XII's encyclical on the 150th anniversary of the American hierarchy.

The documents are arranged chronologically under the groupings of "The Spanish Colonies," "The French Colonies," "The English Colonies," and "The National Period." As might be expected, Maryland is well represented in the two latter groups. Included are the *Instructions* of Cecil Calvert, Father White's *Narrative*, the Annual Letter for 1638, the Act of Religious Toleration, the Act of Disfranchisement, writings of the Carrolls, Cardinal Gibbons, and others.

The format of the book is attractive, the editing adequate, and the introductory notes to each document useful and informative. The volume is a must for every library on American religious history.

The Life of John Smith, English Soldier. By HENRY WHARTON. Translated from the Latin Manuscript with an Essay on Captain John Smith in Seventeenth-Century Literature. By LAURA POLANYI STRIKER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, published for the Virginia Historical Society, 1957. 101 pp. $4.

The controversy over the character and credibility of Captain John Smith has continued from the seventeenth century to the present. It was taken up in 1685 by Henry Wharton, classical scholar and divine, and Dr. Striker has made his life of Smith, written in Latin, available in English translation. In addition she has prefaced the work with a penetrating essay on Captain John Smith in seventeenth-century literature, and there is an appendix by Richard Beale Davis on "Early American Interest in Wharton's Manuscript."

Although no new concrete evidence has been uncovered by Dr. Striker, she does reappraise the credibility of Smith with a fresh viewpoint. Formerly of the University of Budapest, and author of "John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania" in Bradford Smith's *Captain John Smith, His Life and Legend*, Dr. Striker has explored ancient Magyar, Latin, Italian and German sources for information on Smith.

The publication was timed to coincide with the Jamestown Festival, but the work stands on its own merits for its interesting presentation and its scholarship in the life of that almost incredible adventurer, Captain John Smith.

Chessie's Road. By CHARLES W. TURNER. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1956. 286 pp. $4.95.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was organized in 1836 by Louisa County, Virginia, citizens. The first section of road was completed in December, 1837, from Doswell to Frederick Hall. When construction reached the Blue Ridge mountains, the Blue Ridge Company was organized (1851), which undertook the construction of nineteen miles of track through the mountains, including the construction of four tunnels. The Virginia Central (as the Chessie was called then) had exclusive privileges for the road, which was one of the great pioneering efforts in road construction through mountain ranges.

Subject to the vicissitudes of warfare during the Civil War, the Chessie managed to keep alive, but by 1873 was bankrupt. Boom years followed and the Chessie underwent great expansion. The author has narrated the history of the railroad down to 1955. He has included a wealth of detailed information and numerous illustrations in his account of one of the nation's historic railroads.

The Amish Year. By CHARLES S. RICE and ROLLIN C. STEINMETZ. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1956. 224 pp. $5.

Who are the Amish? "The Amish have been gawked at, puzzled over, envied, patronized, lionized. But somewhere along the way, their identity as individual human beings has been obscured." Mr. Rice with his camera and Mr. Steinmetz with his pen have caught the everyday life of the Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, through the months of the year. Weddings, barn-raising, the old-fashioned clothes, the simplicity of life, have been captured in words and photographs. It is an attractive volume about an interesting group of people, a people who have tried to stay the hands of time in a land of sweeping cultural changes.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Historical and Archeological Research Project for Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine

The National Park Service, of the Department of the Interior, was established by Congress in 1916. In 1966, therefore, the National Park Service will celebrate its fiftieth birthday. In anticipation of that milestone, the Park Service on July 1, 1956, began a ten year development program, known as Mission 66. The fundamental aim of Mission 66 is to provide for the appropriate development of all areas under the Park Service's jurisdiction, so that by 1966 they will be ready to serve their visitors in the best possible fashion.

As an important part of Mission 66, the Park Service recently inaugurated an historical and archeological research program for Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine. The aim of this project is to determine Fort McHenry's appearance when the British bombarded it, 13-14 September, 1814. With the information found through research, plans will be made for better serving visitors who come to visit the venerable Fort.

A beginning in historical research on Fort McHenry has been made, but much remains to be done. If any of the readers of this magazine have manuscript material relevant to the history of Fort McHenry or to the people who were associated with the Fort and would be willing to let us examine it, we would be very grateful for such cooperation. There is no doubt, moreover, that any courtesies of the preceding kind would be valuable contributions to the furtherance of the Mission 66 project for Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.

Our telephone number is LExington 9-2248, and our mailing address is: Superintendent, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Baltimore 30, Maryland. Please feel free to call, write, or visit us at any time.

Baltimore City Police Museum—The Baltimore City Police Department is desirous of obtaining old photographs depicting early police activities, uniforms, and other equipment used by its members in the past. Anyone having such articles and wishing to donate them, please contact Captain Anthony F. Nelligan, Crime Laboratory, Baltimore Police Department, MUlberry 5-1600, Ext. 283, or send such articles to him.

Davis—I am writing a biography of Henry Winter Davis (1817-1865), Baltimore lawyer and member of the U. S. House of Representatives 1855-1861, 1863-1865. I would be indebted to any readers who could help me obtain information pertaining to the family background, personality, legal and public career of Winter Davis.

MARY CATHERINE KAHL,
2842 St. Paul St., Baltimore 18, Md.

Harper—I am preparing a biography of Robert Goodloe Harper (1765-1825), a resident of Baltimore from 1799 to his death. If anyone has material pertaining to him, I should be grateful for a chance to see it. I am particularly interested in finding a picture of his wife, the former Catherine Carroll, daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER,
c/o Maryland Historical Society.

Oden and Vance—Mary Oden, of Baltimore, on April 15, 1846, sent her namesake, Mary Oden Vance, daughter of Morgan Vance and his wife, Susan Preston Thompson, of Kentucky, a miniature of herself, then a young woman, with the following note:

> " To My little Namesake
> ' Mary Oden ' V.
> My catholic kiss, on forehead, lips & cheeks; and these socks: and may her eyes be larger & brighter than are those of her for whom she was named: and ever ready to be used for the good of others.
>
> Mary Oden

Mary Oden Vance was born February 26, 1846, and died August 5, 1853, in Mercer, Co., Kentucky. Her mother had been a schoolmate of Mary Oden in Baltimore some time between 1836 and 1844. The phrase " catholic kiss " presents something of a mystery, since the Vance and Oden families were not Roman Catholics. Anyone who can throw light on Mary Oden is asked to write to the editor of the *Magazine* or to Mrs. F. C. Dugan (Sarah H. Vance), 1334 Eastern Parkway, Louisville 4, Ky.

CONTRIBUTORS

HUGH D. HAWKINS, Instructor in History, Amherst College, formerly at the University of North Carolina, completed a doctoral dissertation at the Johns Hopkins University in 1954 on *The Birth of a University: a History of the Johns Hopkins University from the Death of the Founder to the End of the First Year of Academic Work, 1873-1877.*

ARLAN K. GILBERT is a teaching assistant in the History Department of the University of Wisconsin. As a fellowship student of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Mr. Gilbert wrote a master's thesis at the University of Delaware this past June on "Gunpowder Production in the Middle Atlantic States, a Hazardous Industry, 1783-1833."

BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE, A. I. A., was born at Evesham in 1914 and lived there until his marriage in 1948. He has a bachelor's and a master's degree in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania. He has been vice president and director of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities and of Historic Annapolis, Inc. At the present time he is a partner in the office of James R. Edmunds, Jr., Architects, Baltimore. An active supporter of the Maryland Historical Society, he is now serving on its Committee of Education. For the September, 1953, issue of the *Magazine,* Mr. Hyde wrote an article on Lord Baltimore's home, Hook House, near Wardour Castle, "New Light on the Ark and the Dove."

ERICH ISAAC served in the Israeli Army in the geographic research branch. In 1954 he entered the Isaiah Bowman School of Geography at the Johns Hopkins University and received his doctorate this year. His dissertation was on *The First Century of the Settlement of Kent Island.*

JAMES W. FOSTER, director of the Maryland Historical Society and formerly editor of the *Magazine,* needs no introduction to our readers. He has recently cooperated in the publication of *Baltimore—A Picture History 1858-1958.*

DAVID H. FISCHER, a member of the Maryland Historical Society staff, is preparing a study of Robert Goodloe Harper and Federalism in the early national period.

ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT is the author of *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, 1955), a careful analysis based on the records of Canadian and American archives.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Report for 1956

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

IN this annual report we can do little except to refer merely to some of the numerous activities of our Society. These have increased greatly in recent years. We are constantly trying to handle better what has long been our field of operations. Also we are on the alert to add new undertakings whenever they seem desirable and we have or can secure the facilities required to handle them.

During the last twenty years our membership has grown from less than a thousand to approximately 3500. The general range of our activities has during that period increased even more. Our large and steadily growing collections of historical books, manuscripts, paintings, documents, various kinds of records and other data are being made more and more available to our members and to the public. The number of calls upon us for information from private and public sources in Maryland and from outside of our state is constantly increasing. For instance, we serve the State of Maryland in many ways: by preparation of War Records, editing and publication of colonial official records, many forms of assistance to the school systems, and in various other ways.

Our staff has more than tripled in size during the past 15 years but it is still not large enough to meet pressing needs. Except for reimbursement for actual expenditures incurred in rendering various services to the State of Maryland, our Society is dependent entirely for money for expenses upon dues paid by members, gifts and income from our investments. Although our income has increased largely, it is still not sufficient for us to do all we seek to accomplish. More endowment and revenue are needed, not to pay off any debts, but to enable us to give better service.

Our Society lived in its former home, corner of Saratoga and St. Paul Streets, for approximately two-thirds of the 113 years of its existence. Thirty-six years ago we moved to our present home at the corner of Monument Street and Park Avenue after it was bought by the late Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, greatly enlarged and given to us by her as a memorial to her husband. In order to meet our urgent need for additional space for operations we bought several years ago three houses with lots facing on Monument Street and adjoining our present home.

Our management is very grateful for your stimulating and never-failing support. I treasure the thought of the hearty encouragement given

by our members throughout the last forty-six years during which time I have been either your secretary, vice-president or president. We are eager to try to justify your continued confidence in us.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President.*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

The generous interest of two of its older members in leaving valuable bequests to the Society made the year 1956 a memorable one. Both the Tyson and Morris estates are expected to yield large benefits to the Society and its activities. Disposition of Miss Morris' effects in accordance with her will required much time of the staff, but yielded satisfaction in meeting her wishes as well as resulting in cash returns for the Society.

For the first time since it was organized in 1844 the Society increased its dues. The new rate, effective January 1, 1957, is based on $8.00 for a single membership and $12.00 for husband and wife. Provision was also made for those who care to contribute at a higher rate under the designations sustaining member, patron, etc.

The staff was increased by one full-time and one part-time person and certain salary adjustments which were long overdue were made. The Council authorized the employment of a permanent registrar.

The usual activities of the Society, the program of addresses, special exhibitions and reference service in the Library were successfully continued. The President and members of the staff were called upon to give talks before many gatherings including the county historical societies, service clubs and patriotic societies.

The work with school classes was placed on a stronger basis, with assistance during the winter months from members of the Junior League who, under Mr. Manakee's supervision, served as guides in showing the Society's exhibitions to school pupils. This activity is rapidly growing and will require trained guides if the schools and the Society are to realize the full potentialities of these visits.

JAMES W. FOSTER, *Director.*

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Your Committee on Finance advises the Society in the management of its overall finances. This Committee is also charged with the duty of managing endowment funds given or left to the Society by members and friends, who wish to provide facilities and future income to keep alive the history and cultural development of Maryland.

Your Finance Committee believes it should be the Society's goal to keep its expenditures in line with its income. Last December, we had

come to the point where, despite the strictest economy, our income from investments, contributions and the $5.00 annual membership fee we have had in effect since our founding in 1844, did not produce enough revenue to cover our costs . As a first step toward taking care of this situation, a new schedule of dues, with a minimum of $8.00, was put into effect for 1957. We are delighted to report this action has been well received.

Your Finance Committee believes every effort should be made to preserve and increase the Society's endowment. In making investments, we seek to obtain the largest possible income that can be produced by a prudently managed investment account. We also seek reasonable growth of both principal and income. The Society's endowment will be increased about $140,000 when distribution is made to us as residuary legatees of Mr. A. Morris Tyson, who died in 1956. Also in 1956, we received $5,000 and the house at 708 Park Avenue as bequests from Miss Josephine C. Morris.

JACOB FRANCE, *Chairman.*

TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

The Committee is glad to report that the exterior and interior of the buildings of the Society are in very good condition. There is, however, great need for expansion of our facilities.

There are two somewhat major features that must be provided at the earliest possibility.

First, that of an elevator for passengers and furniture, the latter, at times, posing a serious problem and often entailing damage to walls and woodwork. This would also permit elderly people to proceed to the upper floors to observe our marvelous exhibits.

The second item is also on the urgent list, that of air conditioning of the library and main gallery, so necessary for properly preserving our manuscripts, books, etc. and, in addition, giving a measure of comfort to those engaged in research, etc.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR., *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

The year was an unusually interesting one for the Gallery. Major accessions were the M. V. Brewington Collection of Chesapeake Bay models, carved work and shipbuilders' tools (319 pieces), the gift of the *Sunpapers*; 5 oil portraits, a silver service, many pieces of furniture and rugs from the late Josephine C. Morris; and the portrait of Benjamin H. Latrobe, acquired in London with the generous help of members of the Society. Other gifts of special interest include an oil portrait of Mrs.

Thomas Sim Lee, from the estate of Fannie M. R. Huntt, a portrait of William Pinkney by Charles Bird King, a handsome banquet table plateau with bisque ornaments and a large Sheffield epergne with Waterford glass containers, all from Mrs. L. R. Carton; three other portraits; four miniatures; a large collection of carpenter's tools from Mr. Thomas W. Pyle; and two sketchbooks of Alfred J. Miller, from Mr. Lloyd O. Miller.

It is my distressing duty to note the passing of two of our most useful members: Dr. James Bordley, who died on January 7 and Miss Josephine Cushing Morris, who died on June 17. Both Miss Morris and Dr. Bordley were regular in their attendance at meetings of this Committee and contributed generously to both the Gallery and the Library of the Society.

The exhibitions during the year were (1) Maryland needlework, consisting of loans supplemented by items owned by the Society; (2) pictures and memorabilia relating to George Washington in connection with the annual birthday observance; (3) portraits by Henry Bebie, with a catalog; (4) a part of the large collection of Currier and Ives prints owned by Mr. Guy T. Warfield; (5) War of 1812 exhibition in connection with Defenders Day; (6) recent acquisitions, including the portraits received from Miss Morris and those of Archbishops Maréchal and Whitfield, gift of the Reverend Thomas A. Whelan; (7) the usual Christmas exhibition of toys, dolls and doll houses.

The lecture series on American arts and crafts was as follows: January 17, "Early American Needlework and Homespun," by Miss Grace L. Rogers; February 14, " Alfred J. Miller, Maryland Artist," by Marvin C. Ross.

A catalog of miniature accessions received since the list published in June, 1945, was prepared by Misses E. C. Holland and L. M. Gary. It was published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December and showed that the collection of miniatures has increased by 75 items. This brings the total of the Society's miniature holdings to 231, a representative collection of American miniature painting.

Mr. John C. Kirby, of the Walters Art Gallery, very generously restored the portrait of Mary Digges Lee, already referred to, before it was placed on exhibition.

The staff remained unchanged, with the Director acting as general curator and Miss Holland as principal assistant. Late in the year the council authorized the employment of a registrar, but the position had not been filled at the close of the period.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

Mr. Haber's very full Report (which follows) will cover the specific transactions that have occurred in the year ending December 31, 1956.

On behalf of the Library Committee, I report that the Society principally needs:

1. A pension system for all of the employees.
2. A complete overhauling of the Library, including rebinding of books, repair of manuscripts and additional personnel to index accumulated manuscripts. On April 10, 1956, we asked for $7,500.00 for that purpose.
3. The establishment of a permanent system for the protection and lamination of manuscripts, similar to that used at the Hall of Records and at the Library of Congress. The cost of installation of that would be approximately $14,000.00.

GEORGE ROSS VEAZEY, *Chairman.*

There were 395 groups of manuscripts and books accessioned by the Library during the year. The groups varied from single items to collections of considerable size. Many of these have been described in *Maryland History Notes*. The most notable groups were those coming from the estates of Miss Josephine Cushing Morris, Mr. A. Morris Tyson, and Mr. James E. Steuart. The latter collection included several hundred Civil War letters of Confederate General George Hume Steuart. The processing of the collection had not been completed at the end of the year, but it is safe to say that it will add several thousand manuscript letters to the Library collections.

Patriotic societies continued their loyal and generous support for the maintenance of Library materials. From the Calvert Papers Fund, established by the National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, $1,067.16 was expended for restoration work, leaving a balance of $432.85 from the original $5,000 appropriated. The Maryland State Society United Daughters of 1812 gave to the Library $60 to make photostat copies of our War of 1812 Muster Rolls. The Dorset Chapter of D. A. R. contributed $45 for the restoration of Dorchester County rent rolls. In addition to support from these Societies, numerous individual members of our Society made helpful contributions to the Library.

The Library spent $604.01 for the purchase of books, and this included $290.76 from the Passano Fund for reference works. Manuscript purchases totaled $684.21; book binding $264.25; miscellaneous supplies $534.61. Thus the total expenditure for the Library from regular Society funds was $2,077.08.

The indexing of manuscripts, for which funds are provided by the State of Maryland, continued through the year. The sum of $430.65 was expended on part-time labor; $97.62 for typing cards; and $39.94 for supplies. This project proves its usefulness almost daily, but at the present rate of progress, a larger quantity of new material is received in a year than is indexed.

Most of the worn envelopes containing pamphlets on the library shelves were replaced during the year, but binding of our books and restoration of manuscripts still remain as major problems.

The Library was heavily used by researchers throughout the year. In addition, there were numerous telephone inquiries and approximately 50 queries by mail each week were answered.

We have cooperated with scholarly publication ventures, such as *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Henry Clay* and *James Madison,* by furnishing copies of our holdings. Eventually the Library should have a complete published Guide to its manuscript collections, so that its resources will be nationally known.

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Librarian.*

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The publication program of the Society was a particularly active one. Volume LXVII of the *Archives of Maryland*, the fourth under the editorship of Dr. Merritt, appeared. It is entitled *Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1677-1678*, and is Volume 12 in the so-called " Court Series."

The quarterly *Magazine* had a successful year under the editorship of Mr. Haber, who was fortunate in securing a number of contributions of importance and many of general interest. The director of the Society, Mr. Foster, brought out the usual four issues of our news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes.*

In the series, " Studies in Maryland History," no new volume was issued this year but sales of the last in the series, *The Dulanys of Maryland*, by Land, and of the two earlier volumes in the series, continued. The first printing (8,000 copies) of the revised edition of *My Maryland*, a school history, taken over from Ginn & Co. in 1955, was approximately sold out and plans were made for a second printing. After authors' royalties and extraordinary expenses owing to revision, the Society had a small profit.

Sales of the Star-Spangled Banner facsimile, pamphlet and postcard were continuous. Several other subjects were added to the postcards on sale at the Society.

The book, *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Family,* by Mr. Harry Wright Newman, was published at the instance and through the generosity of Mr. Prewitt Semmes. Its sales throughout the year have been satisfactory. Thanks to Mr. Semmes's liberality, the Society was able to defray all costs and have something left over. Proceeds of sales will go to the Society.

Washington Bowed, the story of Washington's resignation of his commission to the Continental Congress, sitting in Annapolis, by Governor McKeldin of Maryland, was issued over the Society's imprint by arrangement with the author. At the close of the year 862 copies had been sold through the Society and the many book stores that stocked it, and additional sales are anticipated.

J. HALL PLEASANTS, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

On December 31, 1955, the membership was as follows:

Honorary members	3	
Life members	39	
Active members	3492	
		3534
Members gained during 1956:		
Life, 7, Active 324	331	
		3865
Members lost in 1956:		
Deaths—Life 2, Active 107	109	
Resignations	263	
Montgomery Co. joint memberships discontinued	116	
Dropped	111	
		599
		3266
Net membership December 31, 1956:		
Honorary	3	
Life	44	
Active	3219	
		3266

ELIZABETH CHEW WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*

N. B. Members added during the first 6 months of 1957 totaled 125.

COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

The Society presented a successful program of addresses during the year. The speakers and their topics were as follows:

January 12—Bertram K. Little, Director, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, " Shall We Preserve Our Historic Buildings? " (Joint meeting with the S. P. M. A.)

January 23—The Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York, " How the City Serves the People."

February 8, Annual Meeting—Wilson H. Elkins, President, University of Maryland, " Frontiers in Higher Education."

May 15—Francis V. duPont, former Commissioner of U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, " How the Mason-Dixon Line Settled a Recent Controversy."

May 25—Commander Marion V. Brewington, U. S. N. (Ret.), " Chesapeake Bay Watercraft—Their Builders and Decorators."

November 14—Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, Executive Director Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, "New Opportunities for Historical Agencies."

November 30—Dr. Paul F. Norton, of Pennsylvania State University, "The English Career of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. . . ."

The afternoon series of illustrated addresses consisted of a talk on early American needlework and homespun, by Miss Grace L. Rogers, of the Smithsonian Institution, on January 17, and a second lecture dealing with the life and works of Alfred J. Miller, the Baltimore artist, was given on February 14 by Mr. Marvin C. Ross, of Washington, D. C.

The Committee on Addresses will be very happy to receive suggestions from members for future programs.

NEIL H. SWANSON, *Chairman.*

WAR RECORDS COMMITTEE

On January 12, 1956, the Committee met to decide matters incident to the eventual completion of the War Records Division program. Discussion resulted in the following suggestions to the Board of Public Works: 1) that, because of the great cost involved, publication of the World War II military service records of Marylanders should not be recommended; 2) that, following the end of the Division's work, the Society should house, maintain and service the historical materials now in the possession of the Division; 3) that the Society should charge the State an annual fee for storing and servicing these materials, the amount of the fee to be determined later; and 4) that while the Society stands ready to record Maryland participation in the Korean conflict should the State so desire, existing legislation limits the activities of the War Records Division to World War II. On June 11 the Board of Public Works approved the Committee's recommendations.

In June also the Division published its fifth book, *Maryland in World War II—Gold Star Honor Roll.* During the remainder of the year the Division continued alphabetizing the 250,000 discharges of Maryland World War II veterans and preparing the manuscript of its final volume which will record home front activities.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The Committee on Education functions as a speakers' bureau for topics relating to the history of Maryland. During the year the Committee was called upon to obtain speakers for several meetings, especially those of service groups in the Baltimore area.

Mr. Bryden B. Hyde was appointed a member of the Committee vice the late Randolph Barton, Jr.

W. Calvin Chesnut, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEES ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

The Chairman consulted with officers of the Society concerning the advisability of holding a conference of the various historical societies of the State. Such conferences have been held for many years past in Pennsylvania and other states. Now that Maryland has 16 county societies, in addition to the State Society, it was felt that a meeting might be profitable to all parties. Owing to the pressure of other activities it was decided to postpone such a state-wide conference until 1957.

Very satisfactory relations exist between our Society and various patriotic societies, some of whom hold regular meetings in our buildings, and several maintain their records in our Library where they are accessible under supervision to their members and in some instances to the general public.

Rosamond R. Beirne, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

The gift of the collection of Chesapeake Bay material, formed by Commander Marion V. Brewington, U. S. N. (Ret.), by the *Sunpapers* of Baltimore, was the most gratifying event of the past year. It was a signal recognition of the Society's continuing efforts to assemble a representative showing of the maritime history of the Chesapeake.

The Brewington collection consists of 319 pieces, including shipbuilders' models, carved decorations, and tools of the shipbuilding trades. They were gathered over a period of 30 years by a man who is a native Marylander and, until last year, a life-long resident of the Eastern Shore. The Council of the Society passed a resolution of deep appreciation to the *Sunpapers* for their action in making this noteworthy gift.

The new collection was handsomely installed under the supervision of Mr. R. Hammond Gibson, a member of our Committee, in the largest of the three rooms presently available for the Maritime Museum. It has been featured in stories and photographs by many publications and has attracted a large number of visitors and of specialists in this field.

The Society during the year acquired a large carved wooden eagle, apparently from the pilothouse of a Chesapeake steamboat of fifty years or more ago. Numerous drawings and models also were presented, the most important being a reproduction of the "Arke of Maryland," the larger of the two little vessels that brought the first settlers to Maryland in 1634. It was made at a scale of 3/16 inch to the foot by Mr. Gibson, who used

as a model photographs of the plaster designs on the ceiling at Hook House, Wiltshire, England.

The Society and our Committee are indeed indebted to Mr. Gibson for his unremitting interest and work in organizing and expanding our maritime collection. The members of the Committee have likewise been exceedingly helpful in our long-range effort to develop the Society's Maritime Museum into one of the notable collections in this field.

G. H. Pouder, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

GENERAL FUND

Statement of Operations

for the year ended December 31, 1956

Income

Dues		$17,072.50	
Voluntary Contributions		3,050.60	
Investments			
Endowment Fund	$11,488.00		
Elise Agnus Daingerfield Fund	7,630.80		
Elizabeth S. M. Wild Fund	2,328.60		
A. Morris Tyson Estate	15.00		
		$21,462.40	
Legacies			
H. Oliver Thompson Estate	$ 1,267.80		
Jane James Cook Estate	590.42		
		$ 1,858.22	
Sales of Publications			
General	$ 1,156.81		
Advertising Income	935.40		
Star Spangled Banner Pamphlets etc.	87.10		
My Maryland (School History)	10,867.97		
		$13,047.28	
Miscellaneous Income			
Service Charges and Fees	$ 381.06		
Rent, 209, 211, 213 W. Monument St.	7,222.00		
Other Income	1,831.85		
		$ 9,434.91	
Total Income			$65,925.91

Expenses

Addresses	$ 900.73
Advertising	11.28
Building Supplies	700.69
Commissions	1,146.38
Depreciation	28.50
Gallery	518.19
Heat	2,186.04
Insurance	3,224.13
Library-Miscellaneous	895.67

Library-Books and Manuscripts	604.01	
Light and Hot Water	1,042.31	
Membership Extension	63.88	
Miscellaneous Expense	1,922.34	
Office Supplies	1,259.47	
Postage	716.29	
Publications	8,391.18	
"My Maryland" Publication	1,693.03	
Photos etc. Ordered by Library Patrons	235.54	
Repairs	1,727.24	
Salaries	36,979.16	
Expenses 213 W. Monument St.	2,661.97	
Taxes—Social Security	936.17	
Telephone	977.60	
Travel	231.66	
TOTAL EXPENSES		$69,053.46
EXCESS of EXPENSES over INCOME transferred to SURPLUS		($3,127.55)

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31, 1956

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

Current Assets

Cash in Bank			$ 223.50
Petty Cash			100.00
State Index Fund			3.00
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			$ 326.50

Fixed Assets

Real Estate, Main Building and Nos. 209-213 W. Monument St.		$210,748.59	
Books		1.00	
Manuscripts and Prints		1.00	
Paintings and Statuary		1.00	
Furniture and Fixtures	$286.00	....	
Less Depreciation Allowance	171.00	115.00	
TOTAL FIXED ASSETS			$210,866.59
TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS			$211,193.09

General Endowment Fund

Cash Corpus	$ 750.42	
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society	90.00	
Bonds	68,010.57	
Stocks	137,394.43	
Ground Rent	666.66	
Due from Current Funds	58,158.43	
TOTAL GENERAL ENDOWMENT ASSETS		$265,070.51

Elise Agnus Daingerfield Fund

Cash Corpus	$ 77.30	
Stocks	87,411.63	
Bonds	66,385.15	
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS..		$153,874.08

Elizabeth S. M. Wild Fund		
Cash Corpus	$ 56.16	
Bonds	45,100.00	
Stocks	17,382.22	
Ground Rent	1,307.00	
TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS		$ 63,845.38
TOTAL ASSETS		693,983.06
CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES		
Current Liabilities		
Special Fund Account		$ 7,268.47
Sales Tax Payable		1.58
Maryland Withholding Tax		111.11
Note Payable—Equitable Trust Company		4,000.00
Due to Endowment Fund		58,158.43
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		$ 69,539.59
Net Worth		
Surplus		$141,653.50
TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES and NET WORTH		$211,193.09
General Endowment Fund	$265,070.51	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND		$265,070.51
Daingerfield Fund	$153,874.08	
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND		$153,874.08
Wild Fund	$ 63,845.38	
TOTAL WILD FUND		$ 63,845.38
		$693,983.06

May Seventeenth
Nineteen Hundred Fifty-seven

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Baltimore, Maryland

We have examined the Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, as of December 31, 1956. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we deemed necessary.

In our opinion, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statements of Income and Expense fairly present the financial position of the Maryland Historical Society at December 31, 1956 and the result of operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK,
Certified Public Accountant
Baltimore 1, Md.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Union Mills, Carroll County

PHOTO BY JACK ENGEMAN

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

December · 1957

Your Lawyer and Your Bank

Your lawyer is a specialist in the preparation of wills, trust agreements and other legal documents. He is also thoroughly familiar with taxes and other problems related to estate planning and the administration of your estate.

Your bank is a specialist in the managment of money and property, including bonds, stocks and real estate. It is also familiar, through long experience, with the many problems arising in connection with the management of an estate or trust, including the special problems of a business.

Together, this team of your lawyer and your bank can give you the utmost specialization and experience in a plan for the administration of your estate.

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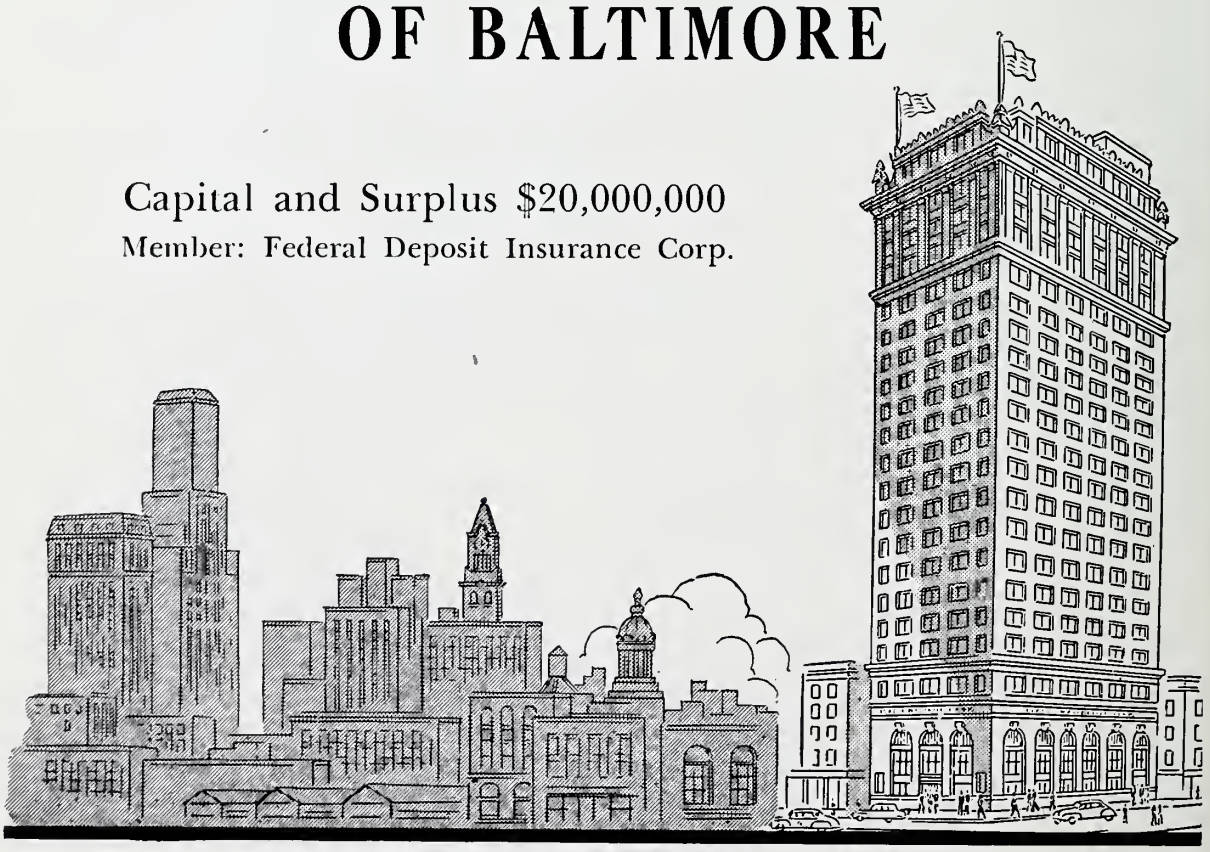

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

George L. Radcliffe, President; James W. Foster, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are $8 and up, life membership $150. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 52 DECEMBER, 1957 Number 4

BRANTZ MAYER, MAN OF LETTERS

By Jerry E. Patterson

IN the parlance of the nineteenth century literary world, Brantz Mayer (1809-1879) was called, even by himself, a " littérateur "; in the less kind twentieth century he might even be referred to as a " hack." [1] He practiced law regularly most of his life, was occasionally a newspaper editor, and, briefly, a diplomat, but he was always a writer. He was able to keep up these other vocations while, with the ridiculous facility of the time, he continually published on a number of disparate and even conflicting subjects.[2]

[1] The only articles on Mayer I have seen are those obituaries published soon after his death in places like the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXIII (1879), 363-364, and *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, VIII (1877-1880), 15-18, and one in much the same style by Bernard C. Steiner, " Brantz Mayer," *MdHM*, V (1910), 1-22.

[2] Detailed bibliographies of Mayer are in Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (1868) and S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (1897).

Some of his works commanded much critical attention at the time and had considerable sales. He fits comfortably into a category with the label " minor literary figure, mid-nineteenth century " and thus rubricated, his career will be followed by means of his unpublished letters and other documents.[3]

Genealogy was one of Mayer's hobbies and his last publication was a family history in which he displayed a lineage of the most awesome respectability. The Mayers, he found in his researches, were an " honest, educated, industrious race." [4] His father, Christian Mayer, was a German immigrant to Baltimore, a successful tobacco importer, who was said to be " sober, honest, industrious, well educated, but unimaginative, conservative, and in all things in accord with the tradition of his Lutheran extraction . . . a man among whose hundreds of carefully copied letters not one touch of humor appears." [5] Brantz Mayer, who was born in Baltimore on September 27, 1809, was also highly respectable, but he had considerably more verve than his father.

At St. Mary's College, a Sulpician school in Baltimore, Mayer got his first education which, judging from his writings, was only average. In his books on Mexico, he showed an anti-Roman Catholic bias which caused rather a stir among the reviewers at the time, but he always remained an interested alumnus of the Catholic St. Mary's and his unpublished Mexican journal shows that he looked into some affairs for the school while he was in Mexico. After St. Mary's he studied law at the University of

[3] The present article is based on manuscript materials in the Maryland Historical Society (the main collection), the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Detroit Public Library (Burton Historical Collection), the Yale University Library, the Peabody Institute Library, the Harvard University Library, the New York Historical Society, the University of Kentucky Library, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the John Carter Brown Library. To the librarians of these collections I owe great thanks for their help and permission to publish materials.

[4] Brantz Mayer, *Memoir and Genealogy of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Family of Mayer, Which Originated in the Free Imperial City of Ulm, Wurttemberg, 1495-1878* (Baltimore, 1878), p. 174. In the Maryland Historical Society collections is a correspondence between Mayer and A. J. Steinman, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, which shows that most of the genealogical research for this family history was done by Steinman. See also William H. Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries . . . Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania*, Annual volume, 1898, pp. 129-130, and Harriet Hyatt Mayer, *The Mayer Family* (Annisquam, Mass., 1912).

[5] Alfred G. Mayer, " Biographical Memoir of Alfred Marshall Mayer, 1836-1897," in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, VIII (Washington, 1916), p. 243.

Maryland and was admitted to the bar in 1832. He went to China and India in 1827-1828. In the collections of the Maryland Historical Society there is a manuscript diary of this trip entitled " Memoranda and notes on a voyage to China by Brantz Mayer, 1827-1828," which is an eighty-five page record of his travels. Most of the space is occupied by long and not very relevant quotations from Lord Byron. The one unaffected part of the journal concerns his not wholly disinterested efforts to get acquainted with a rich young lady, a " Miss Lavinia, who they say is worth $50,000 . . . a singular girl, a mixture of gentility and vulgarity," who was sailing on the ship with him. Apparently he failed to get to know her well, as she is not mentioned again. In 1832-1833, he made a trip to Europe, visiting his German relations. Two years after his return he married Mary Griswold, a Georgian, who bore him five daughters before her death in 1845.

After his marriage Mayer seems to have about equally divided his time between his legal practice and writing for newspapers in Baltimore (*American* and *Sun*) and New York (*Mirror* and *New World*). He began to know many of the leading journalists of the quarrelsome newspaper world of the time, two in particular: Nathaniel Parker Willis, an extremely prolific and popular essayist who has left some reputation,[6] and Park Benjamin, an ill-tempered poet and newspaper man.[7] Both of these men corresponded and visited regularly with Mayer for years. He was also on friendly terms with such authors as John Pendleton Kennedy,[8] Fitz Greene Halleck, and George Pope Morris.[9]

Mayer was active in Maryland Whig politics as a follower of David Hoffman. When the Whigs came into office in 1841, Mayer was due to be rewarded with a diplomatic post. He was nominated for the secretaryship of the American legation in Mexico after the fashion of the time, when such posts often went to literary men. The nomination was put before the Senate in September, 1841. Mayer was not happy with it. " My anxiety is for Europe. Why could I not go to Madrid or Berlin . . . ? "

[6] Their quite full and informative correspondence is in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library and in the Yale University Library.

[7] See Merle Hoover, *Park Benjamin, Poet and Editor* (New York, 1848). Benjamin's papers are in the Columbia University Library and many of his somewhat biting and impatient letters to Mayer are in the Maryland Historical Society.

[8] Some of Mayer's letters to Kennedy are in the Peabody Institute Library.

[9] A few of the Mayer-Morris letters are in the Yale University Library.

he wrote to Francis Markoe, Jr., of the State Department. In the same letter he complained: "I have for the two or three last days been engaged in making inquiries in relation to the expense of living, style, etc. in Mexico with regard to my removal to that city with my family. I regret to tell you that the accounts of a very judicious friend who resided there many years frighten me greatly, and I fear prudence will oblige me to decline the appointment entirely. The expenses of house rent, living, equipage (which last is indispensable) are enormous, so that although it may be quite the thing for a very young bachelor, it is by no means suitable for a married man." [10] When the nomination was approved, however, Mayer accepted it, and since it was too expensive to take his family, he decided to go alone. He wrote his decision to Markoe on September 21, 1841, adding: "I have had a bid for a book and one for correspondence from New York." [11]

The lure of raw material for a book could not be resisted. N. P. Willis, with the practiced eye of an inexhaustible journalist, had seen the rare opportunity when the appointment was first mentioned. He wrote to Mayer: "I congratulate you with all my heart on your success in diplomacy, and I think you will find more that can be made use of hereafter in Mexico than you could have done in Europe. I would rather go to Mexico myself. Take care to collect material for a clever book when you return, and it will pay, particularly if you give it a strong bearing on Texas." [12] Mayer's many other literary friends agreed that the trip would have happy results. John Neal wrote from Portland: "I rejoice at your prospects and have only time now to say that I shall write instantly to several persons advising them to engage you if they can. Don't be in a hurry, therefore, in closing with any proposal." [13]

Except as a political reward, there was no particularly good reason for giving Mayer the Mexican post; his languages did not include Spanish (he learned it in Mexico), and his previous travels had been in Europe and the Far East. However, he made some effort toward finding out about the country before he left the States, and it was at this time that he began his collection of

[10] Mayer to Markoe, Balt., Sept. 13, 1841, NYPL.
[11] Mayer to Markoe, Balt., Sept. 21, 1841, NYPL.
[12] Willis to Mayer, Glenmary, N. Y., Sept. 15, 1841, DPL.
[13] Neal to Mayer, Portland, Me., Sept. 12, 1841, MdHS.

books on Mexico which was to become noteworthy. He spent almost exactly a year in Mexico, November 10, 1841, to November 14, 1842. The elaborate journal which he faithfully kept and later in part published is now in the Coe Collection of Western Americana in the Yale University Library. It does not indicate that his diplomatic labors were strenuous; in fact, a few hours of copying despatches each day is all he appears to have done. He had ample time for visiting prominent Mexicans, making sightseeing trips out of Mexico City, poking around ruins, and for endless sketching and note-taking for the book he planned. He acquired a knowledge of Mexico and its antiquities which was to last his lifetime and, thinned out, was to fill numerous publications. This year in Mexico, which made him an expert on the country by the standards of his time, was a highly profitable one for Mayer.

On his return to Baltimore, Mayer worked rapidly to complete from his notes, sketches, and diary his book on Mexico. All his friends were waiting for it: " I have trumpeted your return and announced a book from you on Mexico. Is it true?" wrote Willis.[14] *Mexico as it Was and as it Is* was published in 1843 by John Winchester in New York. Park Benjamin undertook to act as Mayer's agent in the negotiations with the publisher. He wrote Mayer: " Mr. Winchester and myself have this morning entered into a calculation with regard to the expense of producing 15,000 copies of your work on Mexico. After paying for engravings requisite, etc., the profit would be about $600, of which we are willing to pay you one half, $170 already paid. This indeed is no good compensation, but as we assume the risk of sales, it is as much as can be afforded." [15] Even granting the higher purchasing power of money at that time, this seems a small sum indeed to the author on so large an edition, but Mayer took it with only token complaint. Public interest in Mexico and its history was high as United States-Mexican political relations worsened; this was the year also of the tremendous success of W. H. Prescott's *The History of the Conquest of Mexico.* Mayer's book sold well, but there were annoying troubles with the publisher. Benjamin wrote to Mayer in 1844 that he thought Winchester " unsafe " and advised Mayer

[14] Willis to Mayer, N. Y., Dec. 23, 1842, DPL.
[15] Benjamin to Mayer, N. Y., Jan. 6, 1843, MdHS.

to get the plates away from Winchester and republish the book himself in parts.[16] Mayer had to pay $300 for the plates, which seems to have wiped out his small profit. He appears to have held poor Benjamin partly responsible for this misfortune and their correspondence became acrimonious for a time but without destroying the friendship.

Mexico as it Was and as it Is was undoubtedly widely read before and during the United States' war with Mexico. General Benjamin Alvord years later wrote to Mayer's widow: "I did myself devour eagerly his *Mexico* in the City of Mexico during the Mexican War, and was thus able to appreciate its accuracy and its great merit." [17] The book gained a permanent place in the bibliography of nineteenth-century Mexico. There were many travel books, but Mayer's is superior to most. Only Henry G. Ward's *Mexico in 1827* (London, 1828) and Madame Calderón de la Barca's famous *Life in Mexico* (New York, 1843) are better. Though we now know that Mayer's archaeology was a compilation of inaccuracies, it was considered valuable at the time, and for thirty or forty years the book was an important source for research on Mexico. Adolph F. Bandelier, the archaeologist of New Mexico, wrote in 1876: "Have taken home with me the third edition of Brantz Mayer's *Mexico as it Was and as it Is*, a charming work and very valuable indeed. In regard to history he is, of course, grossly ignorant, but then there are so many details of real life, and especially so much upon the antiquities of the Valley of Mexico and surroundings that it is better than anything else I know of, Humboldt not excepted." [18]

The style of the book is arch, enthusiastic, and redundant. In a recent Spanish edition, the translator says that "the language of Mayer is smooth, correct, and rich," [19] but reading it in English today one is mainly struck by its immense need of editing. Mayer himself knew he was wordy. He once wrote to a nephew a comment on some of the latter's work to which he added: "Only one criticism I have to make and that is as to style, and on a point

[16] Benjamin to Mayer, N. Y., June 23, 1843, MdHS.

[17] Benjamin Alvord to Mrs. Brantz Mayer, Wash., Mar. 8, 1879, MdHS.

[18] Bandelier to Lewis H. Morgan, Highlands, Ill., Dec. 7, 1876. Printed in Leslie A. White, ed., *Pioneers in American Anthropology. The Bandelier-Morgan Letters, 1873-1883* (Albuquerque, 1940).

[19] Juan A. Ortega y Medina in *México lo que fué y lo que es*, tr. by Francisco A. Delpiane (Mexico, 1953), xlii.

on which your father was very defective as a writer and speaker and which I have been trying always to correct myself. I mean a tendency to redundancy of words and a disposition, now and then, to repeat an idea in other words, or to illustrate it too much." [20] With all the faults which we see today in the book, the successful publication of *Mexico as it Was and as it Is* gave Brantz Mayer a better place among his contemporaries who read and wrote literature and history.

A letter to Francis Markoe, Jr., indicates that Mayer was scheduled and anxious for another diplomatic post after his return from Mexico. He says: "I thank you for your kind wish to see me placed in the diplomatic corps. That of course is out of the question so long as the present wicked creature [John Tyler] is at the head of the government. After the most lavish professions of confidence in me, and anxiety to place me in a suitable situation (made personally), he has left me, since my resignation, in April last, without another commission. . . ." [21]

His major work on Mexico done and without hopes of another diplomatic post, Mayer turned again to writing for newspapers and editing, off and on, the Baltimore *American.* There seems to have been scarcely a topic on which he could not turn out an article, as the titles of some which are in manuscript at the Maryland Historical Society indicate: "The Dollar Yardstick," "Beatrice Cenci," "Libraries and Authors," and "Hopes for the Ambitious Poor." In 1844, Mayer was the prime mover in the effort to found an historical society for Maryland. He was already active in organizations such as the first American Ethnological Society, the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, and the Rhode Island Historical Society. As early as 1840, he had written to Joel Roberts Poinsett to know if South Carolina had an historical society and, if so, what were its rules, etc., because "some gentlemen in Maryland want to establish a society which will rescue the mouldering remains of our own state's early history from utter decay . . ." [22] After the successful founding of the Society he kept up his interest in it and was president and secretary at

[20] Mayer to Alfred Mayer, San Francisco, Dec. 30, 1872, MdHS.
[21] Mayer to Markoe, Balt., Aug. 26, 1843, NYPL.
[22] Mayer to Poinsett, Balt., May 13, 1840. Partly printed in *Calendar of Joel R. Poinsett Papers in the Henry D. Gilpin Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1941), item 307.

various times, and the Society published some of his oddly assorted works.

When the war between the United States and Mexico finally came, Mayer was quick to capitalize on the public's interest by bringing out a *History of the War Between Mexico and the United States* (New York, 1848). Although two volumes were announced, only volume one ever came out. However, he already had another work planned. A few years before, he had written to Markoe: " My plan is to gather all these accounts [of Mexican antiquities], make drawings of every ancient relic, vessel, utensil, implement, etc. that I can hear of or see, get all the plates of ruins and fortifications, classify the whole geographically, connect them with the Toltec and Aztec remains, and in the course of the next ten or twelve or perhaps fifteen years, bring out a work on the subject." [23] Most of the research for the book could be done in his own large library, but he also wrote to Secretary of State John Middleton Clayton, asking permission to consult official documents in the State Department for his book. " Mexico has long engaged my earnest study. I know her people, institutions, leaders, and language with considerable intimacy and should be glad to contribute in any way to draw closer the bonds of an alliance which may result in mercantile if not in political benefits to our union." [24] When the work was completed it contained much more than merely pre-conquest antiquarian studies; it covered the history of *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican*, as its title asserted, when it was published in Hartford in 1851.

A recent Mexican writer has commented that Mayer's books " mark precisely the highest level of knowledge of the prehispanic past reached in the first half of the last century." [25] If they do, which seems unlikely, Mayer is not to be credited with a great achievement, for he really did not comprehend the archaeology of Mexico. His work consisted of presenting to the American public sections, poorly translated and badly digested, from the pioneer Spanish and German historians and archaeologists whose

[23] Mayer to Markoe, Balt., Aug. 26, 1843, NYPL.

[24] Mayer to Clayton, Balt., Sept. 10, 1849, LC.

[25] Ortega y Medina, *op. cit.*, xxi. For the view that Mayer's antiquarian studies are filled with " fantastic errors," see Charles A. Thomson, " A Study of the Writings of Brantz Mayer Concerning the Calendar Stone," *El Mexico antiguo*, II (Mexico 1924-1927), 30-33.

researches in Mexico were virtually unknown in this country. His original contribution was minute, if existent at all, and he was certainly in no way ahead of his time in archaeological theory. He once wrote the diplomat and archaeologist E. George Squier, who made many original studies himself, that " the more attention I pay to archaeological studies the more I am convinced that we are to remain forever in the dark as to the history of mere monumental nations. Those countries which have possessed a recording language, now decypherable, may be fairly reasoned out by industrious men; but all those whose story is not contained even in a legible epitaph on tombs or temples, must become the subject of learned guesses which will continue to tease the ingenuity and puzzle the brains of curious antiquarians to the end of time. Such, I humbly think, is the unfortunate condition of our continent. We have no Rosetta stone to do the work of our Egypt; and even the so called Mexican manuscripts will in the course of time come to be regarded rather as the rude curiosities of a semi-civilized people than as the authentic records of their progress or glory . . . and I shall forever deny that anyone without such authority has a right to tread one step beyond into the infinite realm of symbolic coincidences." [26]

Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican was followed by a much less happy attempt by Mayer to initiate American readers into archaeology below the Rio Grande. *Observations on Mexican History and Archaeology with a Special Notice of Zapotec Remains as Delineated in Mr. J. G. Sawkin's' Drawings of Mitla, etc.* was published by the Smithsonian Institution, but it was afterwards discovered that Sawkins had never visited the ruins he described and had made his drawings by copying, inaccurately, those of visitors to Mitla. The book was characterized by H. H. Bancroft as " one of the most bare-faced frauds recorded in the annals of antiquarian exploration in America." Bancroft was kind enough to except Mayer from this statement by adding that Mayer " apparently consulted only Humboldt's description of Mitla, [so] it is not at all strange that this zealous investigator and usually correct writer was deceived by a pretended explorer." [27]

[26] Mayer to Squier, June 1, 1851, LC.

[27] Sawkins is demolished by Bancroft in *The Native Races*, IV (San Francisco, 1886), pp. 404-406.

Undiscouraged by the Sawkins setback, Mayer continued to busy himself with matters relating to Mexico. As a " corresponding member of the Comisión de Estadística de México " he wrote to Senator James Alfred Pearce asking his help in getting published by the United States Senate a report by Lieutenant Martin Luther Smith of the Corps of Topographical Engineers upon the drainage of the Valley of Mexico, " one of the most interesting geographical features of the world. . . ." [28] He translated from Spanish Castañeda's " Journal of the First Visit Paid from the Capital of New Spain to New Mexico," which he offered to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft for publication in one of his books on the American Indians. Schoolcraft took with it the usual editorial liberties he allowed himself when making up his volumes, which caused lasting hard feeling between him and Mayer. " I hope Congress will not allow any more volumes from him, but will put the subject into the hands of a really fair man," [29] Mayer wrote to Squier irately.

In 1851, Mayer rewrote the old story of Michael Cresap and his murder of the family of Tah-Gah-Jute, or Logan, a famous incident in the border wars between the white settlers and the Indians, " which has been made history by Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia.*" Colonel Cresap, according to Jefferson, was responsible for the deaths of Logan's family on the Ohio River in 1774. After the publication of the story in the *Notes on Virginia*, Luther Martin of Maryland attacked Jefferson, saying that Cresap had been falsely accused. In 1800, Jefferson published an appendix in which he withdrew the indictment of Cresap, but at the same time he refrained from printing a letter which he had just received from George Rogers Clark wherein Clark specifically asserted that Cresap had no part in the crime. Half a century later Mayer published Clark's letter for the first time in *Tah-Gah-Jute* and said Jefferson was wrong in deliberately withholding this evidence. Mayer's purpose, as he wrote to James Fenimore Cooper, was to " make out a case in favor of the traduced but meritorious Marylander. I have taken pains to discover all the now acceptable authorities and hope I have not failed to

[28] Mayer to Pearce, Balt., Mar. 22, 1850. Printed in *MdHM*, XVI (1921), 157-158.

[29] Mayer to Squier, Balt., Oct. 10, 1854, LC.

cleanse his memory from some of the blood with which history has bedaubed it. In Maryland there are still many of his family and descendants who yet suffer under the blight of his attributed cruelties." [30] Mayer gained a good deal of prestige by this work, and *Tah-Gah-Jute* was published more than once. Recently, however, Mr. Irving Brant has shown that Mayer himself knew of contemporary evidence which " utterly discredited " Clark's narrative but which was omitted by Mayer in order to strengthen his attack on Jefferson. Brant justly wonders whether " one may ask who sinned more, Jefferson by suppressing a letter which he knew to be a glossing of the facts, or Brantz Mayer by suppressing the whole mass of contemporary evidence which proved Jefferson guilty of nothing but understatement." [31]

The project of repatriating the American Negroes was one of Mayer's interests: he thought that Liberia was the answer to the problem of slavery in the United States, and out of this interest came his most unusual and most popular publication. In 1854, he published a work entitled *Adventures of an African Slaver. Being a True Account of the Life of Captain Theodore Canot, Trader in Gold, Ivory, and Slaves on the Coast of Guinea: His Own story as Told in the Year 1854 to Brantz Mayer.* This was, or was supposed to be, the true life narrative of a slave ship owner, taken down from Canot's own lips and put by Mayer into his involved prose, not to gratify " an scandalous curiosity," he said, but to make plain a moral by showing the horror of such a life. Moral or no, the book had at least twelve editions within two years from the date of its first publication and must have made money for Mayer, as he indicated in a letter to Squier: " I wish you would (par hazard) some fine morning, ask Appleton's how my book goes and let me know their *real* humor about it. It has sold, I find, largely, but they don't seem to have distributed at the South, where it ought [to] sell like hot bread. I feel that it is a good argument and that its ethnographic value is lost in the story. I'm sorry, though the pennies are some balance for philosophy." [32]

[30] Mayer to Cooper, Balt., July 2, 1851, Yale.

[31] Irving Brant, *James Madison. The Virginia Revolutionist* (Indianapolis, 1941), pp. 284-290. For the unnecessarily long bibliography of this minor controversy, see Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, William Peden, ed. (Chapel Hill, 1955), pp. 298-300.

[32] Mayer to Squier, Balt., Dec. 7, 1854, LC.

This book has had an amazing publishing history. In this century new editions have been published in English (1928), German (1942), Portuguese (1946), and French (1946).

With all the literary work outlined above Mayer still had time for his law practice during the 1850's, and his correspondence with Squier indicates that again he was being thought of for another diplomatic post, this time in Honduras, which so little appealed to him that he wrote Squier: "I see very little to be gained by an ambassador who shall establish his legation on the back of a mule, and after the fashion of poor [John Lloyd] Stephens, wander over the land in search of a government! I do not think that any mere diplomatic appointment ought to induce me to quit my present mode of life, etc. to visit and dwell in such a place of Honduras. I saw, with all your efforts to make the best of a bad affair, that what I had read of that country was true; and although I should always be most happy to be serviceable to my friends, I consider it hardly worth your while to mention my name to the Government in unison with this mission." [33]

On January 20, 1855, Mayer was appointed agent of the City of Baltimore in the McDonogh bequest. John McDonogh, a rich eccentric of New Orleans, had left his large fortune jointly to the cities of Baltimore and New Orleans; the estate was complicated and Mayer was occupied with it for ten years.[34] As the War between the States approached, he found himself with financial troubles. As he wrote to his old friend, Nathaniel Parker Willis: "a shameful bank failure here, during the week before last, has swept away at one blow the accumulations of several years and left me, at 51, a stranded wreck with very little more than $100 of available money in my pocket . . . ! I must lose not a moment in trying, at least, if not to retrieve fortune or comparative ease, at least to keep out of debt and to make a living for the nine females dependent on me! The instrument in my hand—the pen—seems to indicate a hope; and I have, therefore, resolved to sit down, this Sunday morning, and write this note to you . . . asking your kind consideration of my case, and an inquiry, whether through your aid, I could not get an employment in New York

[33] Mayer to Squier, Balt., Oct. 10, 1854, LC.

[34] There are several articles on this interesting personage and his curious will, but most of them are quite uninformative. See William T. Childs, *John McDonogh: His Life and Work* (Baltimore, 1939).

either in literary or political writership which would give us from $2,000 to $2,500 a year for the present." [35]

John Bigelow, the editor of the New York *Evening Post*, suggested that Mayer might attend and report on the convention then about to meet in South Carolina (which had already declared itself out of the Union) to form a constitution. He wrote R. B. Rhett, Jr., of the southern extremist Charleston *Mercury* to see if there would be any objection to Mayer's attending. Rhett replied that " no agent or representative of the *Evening Post* would be safe in coming here. He would come with his life in his hand and would probably be hung." [36] Understandably, such a statement was enough to keep Mayer at home in Baltimore, though he said his refusal " was not founded on timidity but on a prudent apprehension of all dealings with a half crazed society, exalted by political passion and in a sense, of inability to do my whole duty to you in discharge of a liberal recompense. Your letter, with Rhett's remarks, has made me ten-fold more anxious about the South! It is a frightful despotism." [37]

In Baltimore Mayer found employment writing for newspapers. He was not without literary influence in a day when newspaper " puffs " for authors were all important. Among his correspondence are rather pathetic hints or downright entreaties that he do his best to build up a book, for instance in this note from Francis Parkman, sending a book " published yesterday," which was *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* and telling Mayer " I should like to have the Baltimore public made aware of its existence and if you can do anything in the way of a notice to that end I shall be much obliged." [38]

When war came, Mayer was faithful to the Union and on March 12, 1863, he received a commission in the United States Army as an additional paymaster. He served in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana. After the war, it was again suggested by someone that Mayer might enter diplomatic service and return to Mexico. He wrote to Anna Ella Carroll of Baltimore: " I should have liked to go to Mexico eight or ten years ago very

[35] Mayer to Willis, Balt., Nov. 11, 1860. Printed in John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909), I, 300.
[36] Rhett to Bigelow, Charleston, Nov. 14, 1860. Printed *ibid.*, I, 303.
[37] Mayer to Bigelow, Balt., Nov. 23, 1860. Printed *ibid.*, I, 306.
[38] Parkman to Mayer, Boston, May 27, 1867, MdHS.

much, for it is a country I much admire, though I can't say so much for the people. If my dear old friend Clay had been president, I would have been sent there without asking. I am now paymaster with the regular army and doubt whether they would give me a leave of absence to accept a mission. But, as the Mexicans say, *Quien sabe?*" [39] Though Mayer thus refers to Clay, their surviving correspondence by no means indicates that Clay would have overturned Washington to get Mayer a post. In a very brief note on this subject Clay ends by politely "Regretting that you, who are so conversant with Mexican laws and history, and otherwise are so well qualified to serve the public, have not been employed abroad in its diplomatic service, I am, . . ." Mayer's enthusiasm for great men seems sometimes to have magnified his contacts with them in his mind.

Such appears to have been the case with Mayer and the historian Jared Sparks. Mayer claimed, in a memoir of Sparks that he wrote after the historian's death, that he knew Sparks well, but their correspondence as preserved in the Harvard Library and the Maryland Historical Society displays no particular intimacy nor any significant exchange of information, and it is well known that in his old age Sparks would correspond with anybody. Mayer sent copies of his memoir of Sparks to a large number of famous men of the day (Emerson, Longfellow, etc.) and received from them conventional replies which he later had bound up elaborately with a copy of the memoir and presented to his second wife, Cornelia (Poore) Mayer, on October 7, 1872, Spark's birthday.

Upon the reorganization of the Army, Mayer was made a lieutenant colonel (1867) and was sent to California as paymaster. He remained in San Francisco for five years (1870-1875). He found that "California is a very uncivilized country in spite of what active paid eulogists and egotists say about it." [41] Of course he thought about writing a book, to be called *Friscan Photographs and California Sketches.* He wrote his nephew: "Now I have lots of materials out of which I could cook an edible book about California, not exactly a book of travels or of statistics or of instruction, but a book that would be San Fran-

[39] Mayer to Anna Ella Carroll, Balt., Oct. 7, 1867, MdHS.

[40] Clay to Mayer, Wash., Feb. 20, 1850. Margaret I. King Library, U. of Ky. (courtesy of Prof. James F. Hopkins of Clay Papers).

[41] Mayer to Alfred Marshall Mayer, San Francisco, Feb. 17, 1871, MdHS.

ciscan photographs of land, people, and prospects . . . I think I could give a champagnish head still to the contents of my inkpot: a head which would be not entirely froth, but denote the spirit within that could exhilarate without intoxicating! Ahem! " [42] Such a work was never issued, though, and Mayer did not again venture into the world of literature.

On his return from California to Baltimore he worked on his collections of books and autographs, which had assumed large proportions, and amused himself by compiling a genealogy of his Mayer relations, doubtless inspired by the fact that three of his eight daughters had now married and were starting families. He died in Baltimore on February 23, 1879.

After describing the career of a writer like Brantz Mayer, at the conclusion one is unable to point out any sort of principle that guided his long life of producing books, except opportunism. Mayer was not really an historian like Sparks, not really an archaeologist like Squier, not a professional traveler like Stephens, not an editor, not a diplomat. He was, to use a word loved by nineteenth century intelligentsia, an " antiquarian," and perhaps his own chosen title of " littérateur " is the most apt that can be attached to him. In the introduction which he wrote to the 1928 edition of *Captain Canot*, Mr. Malcolm Cowley referred to Mayer as " one of those admirable nonentities who had learnt the art of being important." [43] This is unfair. He was not a nonentity in Maryland, though he may have failed to become a national literary figure of importance. He was a prime mover in establishing the Maryland Historical Society, and it was through his initiative that steps were taken to preserve the official records of the State of Maryland.[44] He must be judged against the times in which he lived as well as for the lasting merit of his histories. The academic professional historian had not yet emerged, and it was through a long line of popularizers such as Mayer that a public interest in American history was created.

[42] Mayer to Alfred Marshall Mayer, Balt., July 24, 1875, MdHS.

[43] *Adventures of an African Slaver*, ed. with intro. by Malcolm Cowley (New York, 1928), p. xx.

[44] See Brantz Mayer, *Letter to Governor A. W. Bradford on the Examination, Classification and Partial Arrangement of Some of the State Papers of Maryland Belonging to the Proprietary, Royal, and Revolutionary Periods* (Baltimore, 1866).

UNION MILLS, THE SHRIVER HOMESTEAD

By Frederic Shriver Klein

UNION MILLS, the Shriver homestead in Carroll County, is one of Maryland's unique historical landmarks. Now grey and weathered with age, it still has the distinctive air of gentle serenity and friendliness left upon it by more than a century and a half of Maryland history.

Since the last months of Washington's administration in 1797, members of the same family have lived in the homestead. Their written records, their folklore and family legends, and the house itself with its contents, have preserved an unusual firsthand history of the evolution of American life from the days of creaking ox-drawn wagons to the modern era of rushing highway traffic. There have been additions, extensions and minor alterations to the interior and the exterior, but it is the continuity of ownership and occupation by the descendants of the original family which gives the old twenty-three room home its unique quality.

The most important result of this constant replacement of older generations by younger generations in the same location is that very few of the personal possessions of each generation have been scattered, for there was never a period when the old house was completely emptied in preparation for a new owner. As each generation provided its new fashions in tools, toys, books, utensils and furnishings, there was always an older generation to preserve the familiar and treasured relics of its past, even if they were relegated to the safety of a vast and gloomy attic. This unbroken stream of historical experience seems to give the homestead itself something of the kind of wisdom that comes with age, for its atmosphere conveys the impression that it would not be surprised at anything, because it has seen everything.

It has seen wars ever since 1812, and young men have often waved good-bye at the front gate, returning later in uniform to celebrate a joyous home-coming with music in the low-ceilinged

rooms and dancing on the smooth, oak floors. Soldiers in blue and grey and khaki have rested on its long porch. It has had hurricanes and storms tearing at its oak clapboards and chestnut shingles, but warm sunshine always followed a few days later. Children have come there to school to do their sums on slates, stage-coach travelers have stopped for warm food and comfortable shelter, and traveling carnivals, itinerant tin-ware peddlers and donkey-drawn hurdy-gurdies have stopped in its front yard. From the front porch, politicians and political candidates have extolled the virtues of Jeffersonians, Jacksonians, Whigs, Republicans, Democrats and local option.

The Shriver homestead and the Shriver mill began as outposts of early expansion into Western Maryland. Two brothers, Andrew and David Shriver, built the house and mill in 1797, when the opening of western frontiers under the Federal Constitution was offering tempting possibilities for pioneer commercial ventures. Their father, David Shriver, Sr., was well known in Maryland's political history, having been a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety, a member of the Maryland Constitutional Convention, and a member of the legislature for thirty years. He was married to Rebecca Ferree, a granddaughter of Mary Ferree.

A letter written to Andrew Shriver on June 27, 1793, from a friend in Georgetown, shows the early pattern of an American dream which was to influence much of the nation during the nineteenth century. Andrew's friend wrote:

> I would strongly advise you to take a perfect view of the Monocacy, so as to ascertain with precision the extent to which practical navigation can be extended. If there, make a purchase of a few hundred acres of land, lay off a town and commence trade there. You will soon draw settlers and make it a place of consequence. Navigation will be opened this fall above Fredericktown, and will very soon be carried to the greatest practicable distance, at which place the produce for the distance of twenty or thirty miles must be brought for exportation.

Following this advice in general, the Shriver brothers bought a large tract of land along Big Pipe Creek, about seven miles north of Westminster and along early roads leading into Littlestown and Pennsylvania's roads toward the west. The junction of Pipe Creek and Deep Run furnished a strong flow of water for a mill in the wide valley, and gentle slopes on either side provided land for grazing, farming or settlement. Heavy stands

of black oak would furnish tanbark for a tannery, and the Shrivers knew a good bit about tanning leather. At this time, Andrew Shriver was operating a store and tavern in Littlestown, Pennsylvania, and David was practising as a civil engineer in Maryland.

The original mill contract shows that on January 25, 1797, the two brothers completed arrangements with John Mong, a Frederick County millwright, to construct " a set of mills," a grist mill and a saw mill. On March 13, Jacob Keefer and John Eckert contracted " to mould and burn a kiln of brick " for the mill, " providing 100,000 brick or more, to be paid for at the rate of one French crown for every thousand brick." The brick kiln was constructed near the creek, known in previous years as Pipeclay Creek.

The house had its origin on January 26 of the same year, when a contract was made with Henry Kohlstock of York County, Pennsylvania, for building a small double house as a residence for the two brothers. Kohlstock, a joiner, agreed " to finish two small houses 14 by 17 feet each, to be connected by a porch and passage about 10 feet wide." Each house had one upper and one lower room, with a connecting center hallway and a small porch in front, twelve by eight feet. The carpenter's bill for labor gives an interesting idea of costs in 1797:

Lower floors for small house	5 dols.
Upper floor, rough	3 dols.
Windows, casing, frames and sash	2 dols. each
Doors, casings, etc.	2 dols. each
Weatherboarding, stairs, porch, cornice, seats, washboards	3 dols.
Painting	6 dols.

The total labor costs for the house came to eighty-six dollars!

From these four rooms, the large rambling homestead with twenty-three rooms developed during the next century. The placement of odd wings along the sides resulted in a Z-shaped floor plan. But the original part of the building in the center remains unchanged, including the charming original balcony. The Shriver brothers, like their father, were actively interested in politics, and were followers of Thomas Jefferson and his newly formed party. It was not strange, therefore, that when they built their little double house, they copied the distinctive and decorative Chinese lattice balcony design used at Monticello for their balcony

porch railing and inner hall banister. Their little log and clapboard house was certainly a far cry from Jefferson's mansion, but for the Shriver brothers, it was their " Monticello," and the contrastingly elaborate white railings attested to their political loyalty in an unusual fashion.

Their two mills, the gristmill and the sawmill, operated through the union of the brothers, suggested an appropriate name for their enterprise, " Union Mills." The crossroads settlement became known as Union Mills, a name which has remained to identify the surrounding community to the present day. But the operation of the mills required more settlers, and settlers usually followed better roads. When the Jeffersonians came into office in 1801, Andrew used his political influence to secure a postal route through his crossroads and was appointed postmaster by Postmaster-General Gideon Granger. His brother David had become a capable civil engineer and was appointed superintendent for the construction of the Reisterstown road, which passed by the Shriver mill, and eventually connected with Pennsylvania's road to Pittsburgh.

The little double house was soon to prove too small for the large families which were characteristic of nineteenth century households. Andrew Shriver was one of eight children and father of eleven children born at Union Mills. Andrew and his brothers and sisters had a total of 265 grandchildren, many of whom lived at or visited Union Mills.

A west wing was added and an out-kitchen was built around a huge stone fireplace. For the operation of a tannery, a bark-shed, vats, handling and storage sheds were constructed on the other side of the millrace. A blacksmith shop and a cooper shop were built near the mills. Since farming was always necessary, a large barn, with a carriage house, stalls for horses and cattle, haymow, granary and threshing floor, was built along the road. Slaves, indentured servants, apprentices and hired labor from nearby settlements provided the manpower for the operation of the mills, the tannery and the farm. A small settlement of tenant houses and small farm houses spread down along the road. Waggoners brought bark and hides to the tannery, and grain and logs to the mills.

The homestead became, normally and naturally, a kind of small manor-house in a manner quite typical of the American

village which developed in the nineteenth century near iron furnaces, tanneries, plantations and similar specialized enterprises. The members of the little community found it a center for many of their needs and activities. In its earliest years it became, of necessity, a general store and an inn where either travelers or waggoners might stop when roads were impassable, or while waiting for grain to be ground. A small stock of dry goods, notions and general merchandise made the homestead a convenient place to visit, and a stock of liquor was a necessity for any store in those days. When the postal route was authorized, it was natural that the little store would also become the local post office, and a little cabinet with eight pigeonhole compartments was ample at first for the mail that came by the post rider or stage for Union Mills.

When Andrew's political activity secured him an appointment as Justice of the Peace, the homestead provided an office for legal business, and copies of deeds, indentures and contracts began to fill wooden boxes. The children of the family, local apprentices entitled to schooling, and families of nearby neighbors needed a school, so schoolmasters were employed for the winter months, using one of the low-ceilinged rooms in the house for a classroom. Early political rallies in this remote area of Frederick County needed a well-known location, and certainly the crossroads at the site of a mill, post office, inn, store and magistrate's office was an ideal and accessible location. The little Monticello balcony was a perfect platform for public speeches and the determined Jeffersonians must have felt quite a thrill as they stepped out on the little upper porch, gazed down on the upturned faces of the people standing on the mossy brick pavement and the yellow graveled roadway, and began their fluent appeals with the familiar salutation, " My fellow-citizens."

People were almost always there, waiting, as the heavy wagons stood in line in front of the mill and the creaking hoist hauled sacks aloft or grain was shoveled into the chute. While mules or horses nuzzled their feedbags, the waggoners gathered inside the gate of the homestead about the big wooden " cucumber " pump, swinging its heavy handle up and down to wash the dust and sweat from their faces and hands, or to sluice a few cups of cold well water down their parched throats.

In the next generation, the house was expanded again with a

long extension and wing, this time to the east, making it almost three houses under one roof, and always with several families in occupancy. As changes were made, modernization and alterations brought about some contrasts between the old and the new. Split-level floor construction took place as an architectural necessity rather than as a home-builder's promotional device. The house began to assume some of the aspects of a museum of historical evolution. Old rooms were sometimes abandoned completely, or used as storerooms, without changes of any sort. When rooms were given up by older people, they were refurnished or redecorated in the fashion of a newer period.

As a result, the present house contains functional structures and furnishings from the Federal, the ante-bellum, the late Victorian and the early twentieth century periods. However, the styles are not confined to particular areas, and any one room may contain examples of furnishing or detail from each of the four periods in comfortable and practical confusion.

Heating, for instance, is provided for in one old kitchen by the original huge stone fireplace, about eight feet wide and five feet high, but in an adjoining room, the open fireplace has been filled in with a Franklin stove, a considerably more efficient device. But the next generation preferred various types of ten-plate or parlor stoves and bricked up their fireplaces, so that many of the rooms display these ornamental wood-stoves with their jointed lengths of blue-black stovepipe. By the 1900's, central heating became more desirable and part of the homestead is heated by conventional hot water radiators. However, all four types of heating are still practical necessities for the various parts of the house in which they are located. There must always have been someone who refused to allow the " modernization " of the house to the extent of replacing a perfectly satisfactory " old-fashioned " piece of equipment.

The same evolution is illustrated in many other ways. One of the fashionable types of musical entertainment for the home in 1800 was the parlor barrel-organ. One corner of the old " dancing-hall " contains this wheezy but slightly musical instrument, originally made in Germany and imported from England. It played waltzes and lancers while a patient servant turned the curved brass handle. Each spike-studded wooden " barrel " would play about eight tunes, and some forty-eight lead and wooden pipes, animated

by a see-saw leather bellows, provided tunes reminiscent of a bagpiper's band. In the 1810's, " live " music came into its own, and fiddles, purchased from Baltimore importers, always hung on the wall. In the years just before the Civil War, the ballroom was graced with a big square Steinway, which is still standing where it was placed a century ago, very little the worse for age or wear. On its ornate music rack are copies of " The Flag with 34 Stars," and a schottische composed in 1858 called " Our American Cousin," by G. W. Beckel, for a play which President Lincoln was to hear at Ford's Theatre a few years later. Letters from the homestead describe a scene at this piano on the night of June 30, 1863, when the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac made their headquarters at the house, before their march to Gettysburg. A member of the family wrote:

> General Barnes had about a dozen young men on his staff . . . About half a dozen of them, with Sis, Kate and myself, got in the parlor after supper where we spent a very pleasant evening. Sis and I gave them a few pieces on the piano and violin, with which they seemed to be greatly pleased. Several of them sang " When this Cruel War is Over," but they did not do it justice. . . .

The next night, July 1, 1863, the cruel war was over for many of the young men of the Fifth Corps at Gettysburg, but it was just another incident in the life of the old Steinway.

A few years later, a thrilling new instrument was procured—a magnificent Swiss music box, with a glistening brass cylinder and twinkling silver teeth. Its dark polished wood case was richly inlaid and its twenty-four inch cylinder could play six different tunes, beginning, of course, with the newly popular " Beautiful Blue Danube Waltz." But on a shelf in another room, symbols of the minstrel show era were ready for use—the banjo, bones and jewsharps. And, to indicate the turn of a new century, another room contains a return to the mechanical device, after a full century—a sturdy, spring-driven Victrola, with an assortment of records ranging from the golden voice of Caruso to the first raucous rhythms of the original Dixieland Jass Band. The interesting feature of these instruments is not so much that they are there now, but that they have been there since they were first popular and have been in continual use.

Timepieces show the same historical sequence. A grandfather's clock, made by Hostetter of Hanover, just touches the low ceiling

of one parlor. But other rooms and hallways are enlivened by the ticking of various timepieces—all once in vogue—a tall mahogany mantel clock in one room; a stubby little mantel clock in another; octagonal wall clocks with little painted doors in hallways and kitchens; a cuckoo clock chirping away every half-hour in another room; and on the outside wall of an old tannery building, facing the rocking chairs on the long porch of the house, there is a unique timepiece which has been a landmark for almost a century. It is a whitewashed segment of the board wall about four feet in radius, serving as a sundial by the addition of a pole fastened through a hole in the wall and hand-made Roman numerals of wood, from VIII to III. It can be clearly seen from the long porch, from all the front windows, from the mill and from the road. Its slowly moving shadow has marked the time for countless chores and duties and pleasures for hundreds of people who became accustomed to a quick glance at the white dial on the weather-beaten grey boards.

From the standpoint of architectural construction, the homestead presents the same stages of evolution. In the oldest rooms of the original double house, the low ceilings, wide oak plank floors studded with handmade nails or wooden pegs, hand blown window panes with bubbles and distortions, and wooden-pegged door and window frames remain unchanged. Later alterations and additions disclosed the sturdiness of the original construction, for the squared oak logs, chinked with clay, that form the wall structure have stubbornly resisted efforts to drill, pierce, cut or saw. Seasoned oak, after one hundred and sixty years, does not lend itself easily to alterations.

Later additions to the house show differences in construction. It is easy to see where a new part of the house was added without much regard to alignment, symmetry or pattern. A door was cut through the log and clapboard wall, usually not more than six feet high because of the difficulty of sawing out an extra log, one or two rooms were added, and a roof attached in the most convenient fashion. The original two chimneys increased to six, and in the twenty-three rooms which developed from the original four, there were forty-four doors and seventy-two windows. Ceilings in the additions were a little higher, and better heating made it possible to have more windows, thus providing more light in the newer parts.

Almost every room has some distinctive history of its own. One busy little room on the first floor of the original building was a post office as early as 1804, and a magistrate's office, a general store, a schoolroom and an innkeeper's office in rapid succession. A long room on the west end of the house was built as a formal dining room, with a warm Franklin stove installed in the open fireplace. Underneath a long family table capable of seating sixteen or eighteen people, a turkey-red carpet covered the oak floor. However, as generations moved, married or died, the old dining room was no longer needed, and it gradually became a useful but cluttered workshop, with rough board shelves, storage space for " safety " bicycles, lawnmowers, rifles and shotguns, a workbench with vise and tools, and plenty of room for anything from cans of axlegrease to a small press for printing visiting cards, tickets or small circulars for neighborhood enterprises. But the old turkey-red dining room carpet remained on the floor of the workshop for almost fifty years, covered with grease, sawdust and paint spots, until the room reached its present status—a summer kitchen, with an electric range facing the old Franklin stove.

The present dining room went through the same process in reverse. It was originally a " utility " room between two portions of the house, and was used for laundry, butchering, sausage-making, or preparing fruits and vegetables for winter storage. Another generation made it into a charming room with a lovely view into the garden through a leaded glass bay window.

The old parlor, or " dance-hall " was once the public-room for travelers at the inn, and one of the many letters from the collection of Shriver papers relates that when the stage was running on the turnpike, which was then the chief mode of travel for passengers going west from Baltimore or east from Pittsburgh, Washington Irving spent a night at the homestead.

> Grandfather then kept a hotel at this place, and Irving stopped here one Saturday and remained over Sunday. He sat by the stove in what we call the ' dancing-hall ' and talked with grandfather till after 12 o'clock at night. Sunday was a rainy day and it was not fit weather for going out, and Mr. Irving was kept indoors.

Irving slept in one of the little upstairs rooms, and it has always been thought in the family that his description of a rainy Sunday at a country inn in *Bracebridge Hall* may have been based on his view from the windows at Union Mills.

Hardly a single room in the old house has not gone through a succession of different functions. An old smokehouse with a large chimney alcove became a slightly more modern kitchen; two bedrooms became bathrooms; little rooms occupied by negro slaves became clothes rooms, trunk rooms and storerooms.

All of these changes in architecture, furniture and use of facilities would present a mass of unrelated confusion if it were not for another unusual circumstance. The Shriver family kept diaries, journals, memorandum books, ledgers and notebooks with all the patience and detail of medieval chroniclers. They preserved letters written to them, copies of letters written by them, patented copy books, photographs and clippings. Equally important is the fact that most of them wrote with considerable literary skill, and with as much attention to accuracy and detail as though they were professional journalists. From this large collection of documents and records, beginning in the 1780's and continuing in various forms with few interruptions until the 1940's, it is possible to discover and to verify, from firsthand sources, almost all of the events, affairs, ideas, emotions, business dealings, household and family matters which concerned their lives from Washington's time to the twentieth century. The most assiduous diarist of the family kept a careful daily record from 1872 to 1944, including comments and data on family and local, state, national and world affairs.

From this unusual collection of records, it is possible to reconstruct many past aspects of American life such as slavery, for instance. Like many Maryland estates, Union Mills always had a few slaves as personal or household servants. In 1802, a family of five negroes trudged up to the gate and presented the following letter from Andrew's brother in Frederick:

Andrew Shriver
Union Mills, Frederick County
With a negro woman slave and 3 children—
(I have given the black people 15/ to bear their expense.)

Dear Brother: This will be handed to you by a negro family that I have ventured on purchasing for you. The family consists of a Negro woman named Minta, and her three children, the eldest a boy named Jesse, the next a girl named Cassa, and the third a boy named David. The husband of the woman, an old man of the name of Sam, a freeman, accompanies the woman and would be glad to be employed by you. I bought them from old Governor Johnson, who intends selling all his negroes to pay his debts.

The bargain for these people is this—the amount to be paid is £170. I shall have to pay down £85 and the residue to give my obligation to pay in three months.

Everybody that has seen this family consider them a very great bargain. Harry Sterner bought a boy the other day scarcely so big as the little girl for which he gave £60. I would not be afraid to get £70 for this boy of yours without any difficulty. Major Hall bought a crooked, misshapen boy some time since and he gave £85. The woman is in the prime of life, being 26 years old. She was brought up as a house servant in James Johnson's family, and turned out for breeding at the commencement thereof. Were I disposed to trade in human flesh, I could before night get £200.

Strange and unpleasant as this matter-of-fact message sounds today, the attitude was conventional in many households of that era. In a later diary, we learn that " Little Black Dave shot off the old double barrel gun and shot into the partition and blew down Dan Eckert's violin and broke it to pieces! " Little Dave must have been somewhat mischievous, for a few years later, a diary contains a note " Black Dave absconded, after a dispute with William." A printed circular of 1809 offers thirty dollars reward for the return of Peter, a Negro, described as " speaking German nearly as well as English; brought up to do plantation work, but can do a little at blacksmithing, shoemaking and carpenter's work, and has some knowledge of making gun barrels." He also " played on the fiddle and fife tolerably well." With such qualifications, Peter was too valuable to lose.

Letters and diaries reconstruct Civil War days at Union Mills with fascinating personal descriptions. They make it possible for us to live through the two exciting days of June 29 and June 30, 1863, when the isolated rural household witnessed the passing of two great armies on their way toward a chance meeting at the quiet village of Gettysburg, a few miles to the north. By this time one of the Shriver family, William Shriver, had built another house a few hundred yards away from the homestead, and, as often happened in Maryland, the two families supported opposite sides in the war. William's family had four soldiers in the Confederate Army; Andrew's family had two soldiers in the Union Army. All were close cousins and childhood playmates.

On the afternoon of June 29th, two Federal soldiers rode furiously down the hill towards the mill, shouting, " Pack up and leave! The Rebels are coming! " Union troops were retreating from a skirmish with Jeb Stuart's cavalry in Westminster. Rumors

had been so numerous for the past few days that the household did not take the warning seriously, but early in the morning on June 30th, a Negro slave, Ruth, awakened the house with the news that the rear yard and orchard hill were full of men and horses. Stuart's cavalry had arrived and swarmed over the countryside like bees. The homestead occupants were Union supporters, but outside of the customary demands for horses, no appreciable damage was done to property. However, Confederates crowded about the old stone fireplace in the kitchen, while Ruth hastily poured pancake batter on the iron griddle and the hungry soldiers snatched the cakes away before she had time to turn them over. General Fitzhugh Lee wandered into the orchard and went to sleep under an apple tree, while youngsters in the house crept up to gaze with awe at the " General with the black beard." Soldiers broke into the tannery, taking some leather, and made half-serious threats to take members of the Union family with them unless they turned over their horses. However, Southern sympathizers in the village told the Confederates where the Shriver horses had been hidden in the woods. General Jeb Stuart was entertained for breakfast at William's home across the road, and took a few minutes after a hearty meal to entertain his hosts by singing, " If you Want to be a Bully Boy, Join the Cavalry! "

The Confederates departed later in the morning, headed north across the old Pipe Creek bridge toward Hanover. They had hardly disappeared over Pipe Creek Hills when Sykes's Fifth Corps of the Union Army arrived at Union Mills. They camped on the meadows and hills, to spend the night along Pipe Creek, where Meade had just decided to assemble the Union lines for a major battle. General James Barnes, a division commander, and his staff were invited to make their headquarters at the homestead, and girls in the household were thrilled by the presence of young officers and thousands of men. They entertained the officers in the old dancehall with music and games, while campfires began to glow all over the surrounding hillsides, and soldiers bathed in the cool clear waters of Pipe Creek. General Barnes slept in the little room which had been once occupied by Washington Irving, and officers stretched out on the long porch to sleep through the warm June evening. One of them made friends with a little dog at the homestead named Frank, and was given the dog to take along with him, but what became of Frank at Gettysburg is unknown!

Early in the morning on July 1st, the entire army moved north, having turned the tables on Southern sympathizers in the neighborhood by taking their horses away this time. For the next three days, heavy cannonading told the story of the unexpected meeting of the two armies at Gettysburg. Wagon trains of wounded, lines of stragglers and prisoners filed back past the mill and the homestead for days. The old bricks near the mill door still bear the bullet scar where a soldier was shot a few days after the battle, after an altercation with a drunken straggler.

Details of this sort, by themselves, are perhaps not unusual, but the records of activities at Union Mills are equally complete for almost every phase of life during the nineteenth century. There are detailed instructions for arranging a political barbecue, complete with benches, beeves and the advice, "Above all, use nothing but whiskey!" There are records of early plans to organize the new county of Carroll out of Frederick County as early as 1833, four years before it was finally formed, and notes of the speeches Andrew Shriver used to address meetings in English and in German on the expediency of forming the new county. There is a detailed account of the first trip of an RFD Postal Wagon in the United States, which originated in Westminster and made its first stop at the homestead on December 20, 1899. It was accompanied on the first trip by Louis E. Shriver, who photographed the wagon, and kept a careful record for his own information of the route and the times of arrival at various points.

Members of the family who lived temporarily or permanently in nearby cities sent letters describing affairs of national interest for the folks at the homestead. A few examples illustrate the variety of information:

The Embargo

Washington, Dec. 30, 1805: The Federalists, anxious to bring about a war with any nation, and by any means, will vote unanimously in favor of the present measure, but the Friends of Peace and payment of the national debt (Jeffersonians) seem rather inclined to try the experiment of a non-exportation and non-importation agreement and to see how that will operate upon the gentlemen over the water.

The First Railroad

Aug. 26, 1830: I rode out on Tuesday with Alderman Cooper in his steam carriage to the ½ way House on the railroad. Altho the experiment was made under many disadvantages, the thing performed very well, and

UNION MILLS

Photo by Jack Engeman

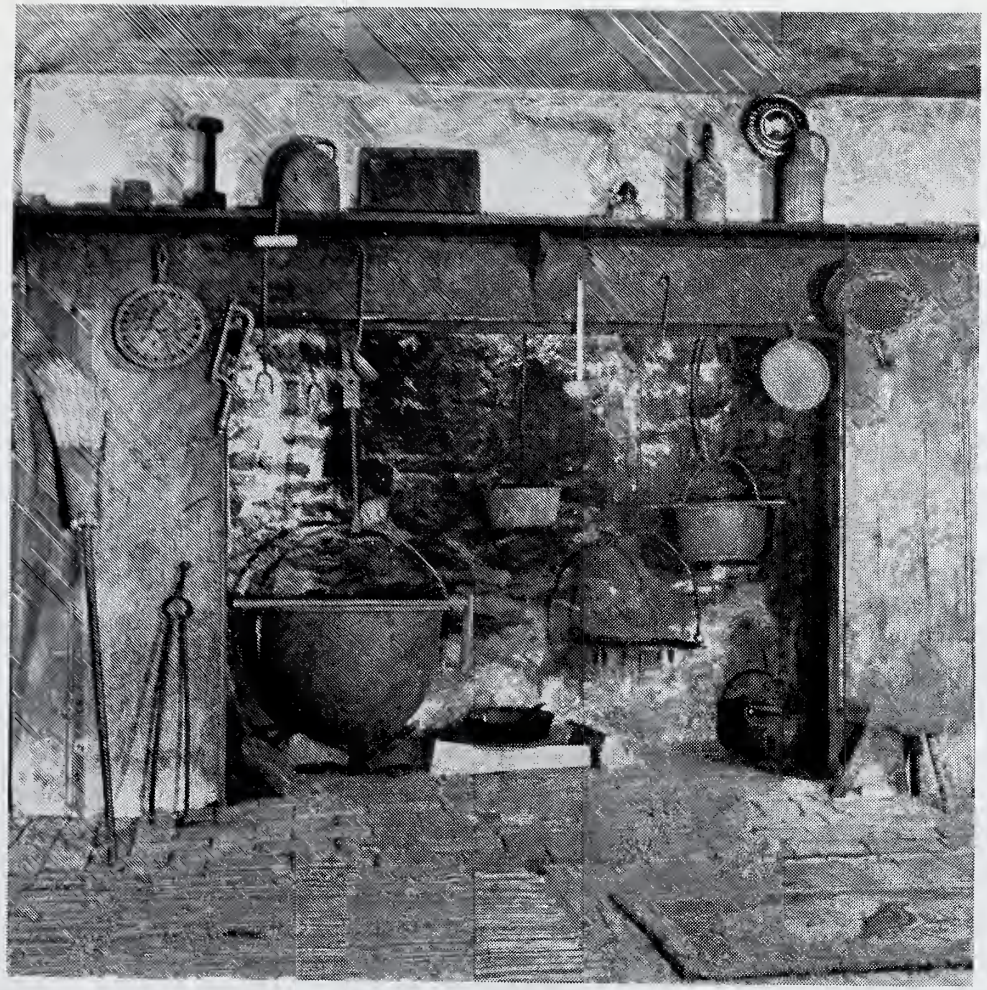
VIEWS OF UNION MILLS, LOOKING NORTH (left) AND WEST (right)

Photos by Jack Engeman

REAR OF UNION MILLS

THE MILL

Photos by Jack Engeman



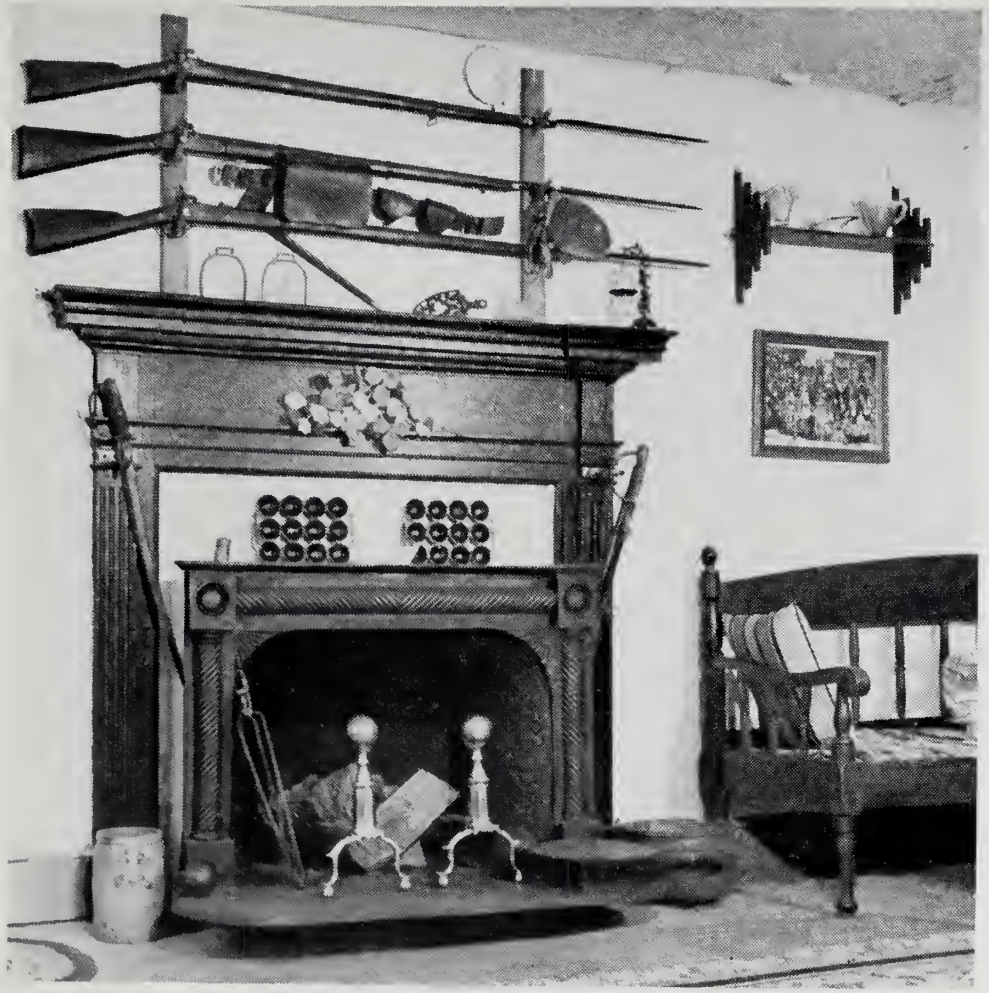
FIREPLACE IN WEST WING

On the way to Gettysburg, " Confederates crowded about the old stone fireplace in the kitchen, while Ruth hastily poured pancake batter on the iron griddle and the hungry troops snatched the cakes away . . ." (p. 301).

PARLOR OR " DANCE HALL "

Room in which General Barnes was entertained on his way to the battle of Gettysburg. On the right of the Steinway piano is the wooden barrel organ made about 1800.

Photos by Jack Engeman



FRANKLIN STOVE

Over the mantel are Civil War firearms. Above the stove are old cast iron muffin pans. This stove is in the old west dining room, now a summer kitchen.

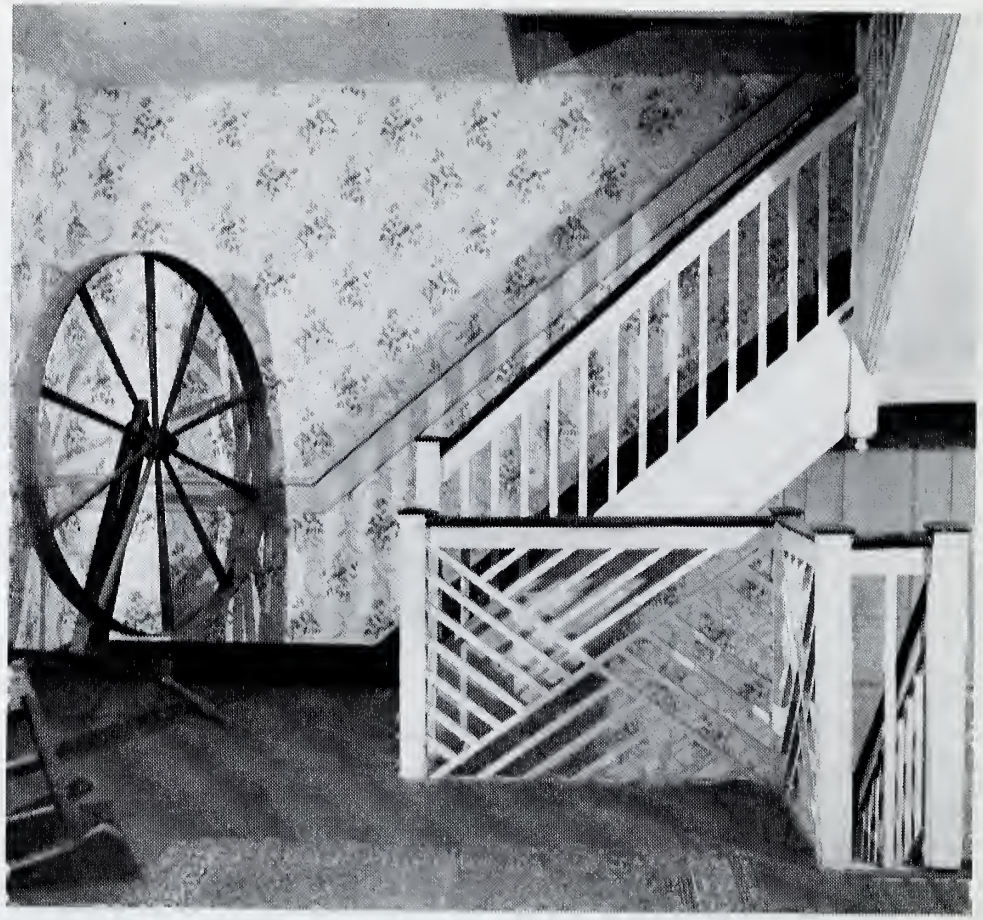
SUNDIAL

". . . on the outside wall of an old tannery building, facing the rocking chairs on the long porch of the house, there is a unique timepiece which has been a landmark for almost a century." (p. 297).

Photos by Jack Engeman

POST OFFICE ROOM

The desk contains the original pigeon holes for mail. On the shelves are 19th century children's toys and household tools. On the floor is a "carpet bag."



SECOND FLOOR HALLWAY

Part of the original house. The rail shows the Chinese lattice design used also on the balcony outside (see Cover).

Photos by Jack Engeman

run rapidly upon straight lines. I really think we attained a speed of 20 miles an hour upon the stretch through Gadsby's field. At any rate it ran so fast as to terrify the whole party.

The Tariff of 1833

Feb. 22, 1833: Mr. Clay made a very handsome speech a week or two ago. Mr. Calhoun replied to him that he would vote for the bill, which was immediately pronounced a bargain between them, and of course as an action that drew forth many remarks from the Senators, especially the Southern folks who did not seem pleased.

The Election of 1876

Nov. 11, 1876, Philadelphia: The election news has assumed quite a different look this morning and it seems as if Hayes stood an equal chance with Tilden. General Grant was present at the Centennial. He issued a proclamation in which he said the country could afford to have either candidate elected, but it could not afford to have the returns tainted with the suspicion of fraud and recommended that committeemen from both parties go to Louisiana and see that there is a fair count.

The most interesting information from the Shriver papers is that on American home life in past ages. There are scores of descriptions of social and recreational affairs, from winter sleigh-rides and skating parties to summer picnics, strawrides, parlor games and singing societies. There is a vast collection of information about household matters, such as the preparation and storage of food for the winter, recipes exchanged constantly with visitors and friends, and about all the chores associated with a self-supporting rural household in the process of transforming cattle, hogs, poultry, grain, fruits and vegetables into stores of food for a large family. There are complete records of the operation of a tannery for almost a century, from the buying of dark oak tanbark and the soaking of hides in lime vats to the marketing of finished sole leather.

We can easily picture many summer evenings at Union Mills, when a family of ten or twelve gathered on rocking chairs or on the lawn near the front porch, as the rumbling of the mill wheel died away, leaving the entire valley quiet and poised for dusk, with only the music of crickets, treefrogs, birds, and the occasional bass grunt of a bullfrog in the millrace. Vicariously, we can share in the excitement of busy preparation for scores of holiday dinners and family meetings, when twenty-four pound turkeys were being killed and dressed, grey-pink hams and streaked flitches of bacon

taken from hooks in the big screened storage box, jars of string beans and corn and tomatoes brought up from shelves in the cool dark cellar, apples and potatoes and carrots and turnips brought from the vegetable bins, green coffee beans roasted in the oven, and then ground by a youngster struggling to hold the little fragrant grinder between his knees. Cakes of ice were uncovered from the damp sawdust of the icehouse on the hill, where they had been buried last winter after the ice on the millrace had reached a thickness of six inches, and were crushed into the wooden ice cream tub for a half hour of vigorous turning. A windlass over the back porch well brought up a dumbwaiter from the shining depth, stacked with jars of milk, little tubs of freshly churned butter, bowls of cream cheese and perhaps a few melons. Someone had to run back and forth to one of the wooden pumps, bringing water for cooking, and for the big wash-pitchers standing alongside of the china wash basins in the bedrooms. Someone had to roll little pats of butter between corrugated wooden paddles. Someone brought cobwebbed bottles of homemade blackberry wine or cider from the cellar. Someone had to select an assortment of pickles, relishes, preserves, spiced pears and brandied peaches, watermelon pickle or chow-chow from the tremendous variety of jars in the pantry. The aroma of fresh-baked bread came from the corner by the stove, while schnitz, mince, and pumpkin pies browned in the oven.

It was all there, but it took a whole army of helpers, young and old, almost forty-eight hours to get it all together and prepare it, and there was always something for everyone to do. Finally, after the fragrant cooking aroma had become almost too much to bear, fifteen or twenty people gathered about the long table, to bow their heads in prayer before the oldest member of the family picked up the long carving knife and whetted it on a long steel with rhythmic strokes.

These are descriptions of the personal family life of the homestead, but from the same records, it is possible to see an example of the change brought about all over nineteenth-century America by the transition from an agrarian to an industrial civilization. Union Mills was a fairly prosperous, entirely self-sustaining estate, with a mill and a tannery operating successfully during the first half of the century. The little village of Union Mills provided plenty of cheap labor, at from five to eight dollars per month for

tannery workers, and even after the Civil War, ten cents an hour would pay for temporary help. One of the Shriver family began a project for canning foods, and built a small canning factory a short distance further down the millrace.

But the post-bellum era, from 1865 to 1890, brought tremendous changes and new problems for the self-supporting community. Cheap labor disappeared. Railroad expansion and consolidation sounded a deathknell to small industries isolated from the iron rails. Although handmade wooden machinery in the mill, the tannery and on the farm was adequate before the war, it could not stand against the more efficient postwar iron or steel equipment and had to be replaced. The new machinery had to be purchased. The mill had its big overshot wheel replaced with metal turbines, and its big wooden gears rested quietly, but larger mills near larger areas caused its business to decline, and it operated primarily as a local convenience. Scrub oak and yellow pine and locust and sumac pushed their way into the edges of fields and along fencerows where it was no longer possible to keep all the farmland in crops.

When a windstorm blew down the big brick stack of the tannery steam boiler, the century-old industry which had sold leather to West Point Military Academy as early as 1815,was finally abandoned. The B. F. Shriver Company moved its growing cannery to Westminster, near the essential railroad lines, and its building at Union Mills stood forlorn and empty. The long lines of wagons no longer stood before it in the summer, laden with sweet corn, tomatoes, peas and beans. Finally, in 1942, the old mill, oldest water-powered mill in the country to be operated by the same family, shut the watergate to its turbines, and its machinery was sold for needed World War II scrap-iron. Its rear wall had fallen and was temporarily boarded up, but its interior construction of sturdy 12x12 posts and 3x8 joists was as solid as when it was built.

The homestead lost its busy families, as young folks moved away, and old folks left to live with them. For a period of recent years, the house was occupied only by a patriarch in his nineties and a widowed niece in her seventies, with the assistance of a faithful caretaker who had come to the homestead as a young man of twenty, and spent almost forty years in the maintenance of the home and its surroundings.

But the end is not yet, and the old homestead stubbornly continues some of its traditions. It was always in a state of dual ownership from the day two brothers built it, and it has come at present into the ownership of three brothers, descendants of the original Shrivers. It is still a residence, with a new generation making the same kind of minor adaptations and adjustments which other generations have been making for a century and a half. New documents pile up in the desks, more broken tools and toys from a new generation find their way to the capacious attics, and different problems are discussed on the rocking chairs on the long porch during the quiet summer evenings.

How long the old homestead and the mill can further withstand age, time and weather is problematical. It has been a long time since the spring of 1797, and many significant American landmarks have disappeared in the rush of modern civilization. But the old house seems to have a reassuring atmosphere of security, and it continues to be a lived-in museum of Maryland rural home life.

DANIEL DEFOE AND MARYLAND

By George E. Gifford, Jr.[1]

DANIEL DEFOE was the first major English novelist to mention the American colonies in his writings. In 1722 two novels by Defoe were published, *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jack*, and both mentioned Maryland. How did he acquire his knowledge of Maryland life and geography?

In order to appreciate his use of Maryland, it is necessary to analyze the geographical aspect of Defoe's writing.[2] Defoe had traveled all over Great Britain and most of western Europe and Spain, but he had never been to the colonies. In addition to his travels, his knowledge came from diligent study of newspapers, contacts with a great variety of men and wide reading in the large body of sixteenth and seventeenth century travel literature.[3] A glance at the partial list of his library reveals the presence of a remarkable number of works of travel.[4] In particular, the importance of the voyage of William Dampier and the autobiography of Thomas Shepard have been stressed.[5] As Sutherland says: "Geography was clearly one of his most passionate interests. The physical world was his oyster, which he opened for himself by reading maps and travel books quite as much as by his own journeys."[6] Therefore, the discovery of a positive source of

[1] I would like to thank Miss Dorothy Lapp of The Chester County Historical Society, Mrs. George Windell of The Delaware Historical Society and the members of The Maryland Room of The Enoch Pratt Free Library for their kind assistance. I would like to acknowledge the guidance of Dr. J. R. Moore. Especially I would like to thank my friend Mrs. Louise Fitzgerald for the use of her scrapbook; this article is dedicated to her.

[2] J. N. L. Baker, "Geography of Daniel Defoe," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (Sept., 1931), 257-269.

[3] A. E. Snodgrass, "Source of Daniel Defoe," *Cornhill Magazine* (April, 1939), 541-549. For Maryland travel literature see Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1638-1684* (New York, 1925).

[4] G. A. Aitken, "Defoe's Library," *Athenaeum* (June 1, 1895), 706-707.

[5] A. W. Secord, *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* (Urbana, Ill., 1924), pp. 19, 20, 25-26; and Edward Everett Hale, "Daniel Defoe and Thomas Shepard," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVI (1885), 85-87.

[6] James Sutherland, *Defoe*, 2nd ed. (London, 1950), p. 29.

information about Maryland used by Defoe in his novels is of importance in understanding the narrative method of Defoe.

Defoe was on good terms with the Friends [7] and knew William Penn personally. Penn tried to help Defoe escape his punishment by pillory, visited him in prison in 1703,[8] and corresponded with him. It is very likely that Defoe also read the *Journal* of George Fox, who had visited members on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1672.[9] Fox's journey to Carolina through Virginia, from November 5, 1672, to January 4, 1673, his crossing the Rappahannock River, his frequent crossings from the Eastern to the Western Shore and his voyage on the Potomac, all remind one of Moll's adventures in Maryland.

In *Colonel Jack*, Defoe mentioned another aspect of early Maryland:

> The plantations in Maryland were the better for this undertaking, and they are to this day less cruel and barbarous to their negroes than they are in the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and 'tis observed the negroes are not in the colonies so desperate, neither do they so often run away or so often plot mischief against their masters as they do in those.[10]

It is interesting to compare this to comments by Fox on slavery. The mention of Quaker characters in *Moll Flanders* also supports the possibility that Fox's *Journal* was a source for Defoe's novels.

In 1673, the first accurate map of Maryland and Virginia, by Augustine Herman, was printed in London. In the novel *Moll Flanders*, Moll sailed to Phillips Point which is located on Herman's map. It is probably the present Clay Island at the mouth of the Nanticoke River in Dorchester County.[11]

In reviewing other potential sources for Defoe's knowledge of Maryland, it is necessary to introduce a story which cannot be documented. According to the story, in 1705, Defoe was compelled to seek asylum in the home of his widowed sister, Elizabeth Maxwell, because of his persistent writing on political issues. Three years before, he had written "Shortest Way with Dis-

[7] E. K. Maxfield, "Daniel Defoe and The Quakers," *PMLA* (March, 1932), 179-190.

[8] Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[9] See Chapter XXI, "The American Journey, 1671-1673."

[10] *The History and Remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Col. Jacque, commonly Call'd Col. Jack* (London, 1722), p. 168.

[11] J. Louis Kuethe, "Gazetteer of Maryland, A. D. 1673," *MdHM*, XXX (1935), 321.

senters " for which he had suffered pillory, fine and imprisonment. It was on account of this article that the Government offered £50 for the discovery of his hiding place. A small room in the rear of the building was fitted up for his private study, and it was there that his sister's only daughter (named for herself, Elizabeth) who was five years old when her uncle came to make his home with them, received her education under his teaching. The Defoes were all members of the Society of Friends and attended a meeting designated by the odd name " Bull and Mouth."

At eighteen (1718), young Elizabeth became engaged, but the engagement was broken by her mother. Unhappy, she left home and sailed for America as a redemptioner. When she was offered for sale in Philadelphia, Andrew Job,[12] a resident of Brick Meeting House, now Calvert, Cecil County, Maryland, bought her for a term of years and brought her to his home. In 1725 Elizabeth became the wife of Thomas Job, son of Andrew, and she then wrote to her mother and uncle, giving them the first information of her whereabouts.

Defoe answered her letter, stating that her mother was dead, and that a large property, in addition to her mother's furniture had been left to her by will in case she were ever found. The letter also asked Elizabeth to preserve the chairs which he had used for his private study, " as they had descended to the family from their Flemish ancestors who sought refuge under the banner of Queen Elizabeth from the tyranny of Phillip." He apologized for the condition of the chairs, the wicker seats of which had worn out and had been replaced by wooden ones. This and other letters subsequently received were preserved by Elizabeth Maxwell until her death in 1782. So the story goes.

The first written account of the niece, Elizabeth Maxwell, appears in a letter written by James Trimble in 1874 when he presented a chair, supposed to have been Daniel Defoe's, to the Delaware Historical Society.[13] The subsequent reiteration of this story after Trimble's letter could be used as an illustration of

[12] Andrew Job had established an inn on Lot # 35 of The Nottingham Lots, which was obtained from William Penn. The site is marked by a State Roads Commission marker at Blue Ball, Maryland.

[13] James Trimble. Letter to The Delaware Historical Society on the presentation of the chairs to that society in 1874. The chair and letter are now in Delaware Historical Society Collection.

the development of a local legend. In 1876, the first published account of the story appeared in *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*; the article, written by Mary E. Ireland, was called "The Daniel Defoe Family in Maryland."[14] This article was copied rather extensively from Trimble's letter and, speaking kindly, cannot be said to be original. On the death of James Trimble, feature articles about the chairs appeared in local newspapers.[15] This is again a copy of the Ireland account from *Scribner's Magazine.* The Mary E. Ireland story was incorporated in George Johnston's *History of Cecil County* (Elkton, Md., 1881). The story next appeared in the genealogical works of the Job family in 1887.[16] A newspaper account appeared in the Baltimore *Sun* in 1897 on the occasion of the destruction of Juan Fernandez Island, famous as the home of Alexander Selkirk, who first suggested *Robinson Crusoe* to Defoe.[17] It is from this source that one of the biographers of Defoe, Wright, in the *Life of Daniel Defoe*, based much of his story about Elizabeth.[18]

In 1899 the story appeared again in *Maryland, The History of a Palatinate.*[19] Then in 1902 Mary E. Ireland published two new accounts of the story in *The Watchword* [20] and in a county newspaper.[21] The new Ireland story differed from all the other Ireland stories only in a paragraph to cover the change in the possession of the chairs from 1876 to 1902. In 1923, a triumphant article appeared in *Antiques* by an antique dealer who had acquired the chairs.[22]

The Tercentenary History of Maryland [23] in 1925 came up with a twist on the old story. It referred to the account in the *History of Cecil County* but suggested "Defoe might himself have been deported from the jail in which he was imprisoned as a criminal,

[14] *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*, XII (1876), 61.
[15] *American Republican*, May 2, 1876, West Chester, Pa.
[16] Gilbert Cope, *Genealogy of the Sharpness Family* (Philadelphia, 1887).
[17] Baltimore *Sun*, "Daniel Defoe's Niece," Jan. 2, 1897.
[18] Thomas Wright, *The Life of Daniel Defoe* (London, 1931), pp. 15, 26, 190, 237, 348.
[19] W. H. Browne, *Maryland, The History of the Palatinate* (Boston, 1839), pp. 180-181.
[20] *The Watchword*, Dec. 4, 1902.
[21] *Elkton Appeal*, Dec. 17, 1902 (Holiday Number).
[22] T. Van C. Phillips, "Pedigreed Antiques X, Two Chairs of Daniel Defoe," *Antiques*, III (1923), 20-21.
[23] M. P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), I, 401.

in which the author of *Robinson Crusoe* would have joined his niece in Maryland, the former as convict, the latter as a redemptioner." The story appeared the same year in *The Philadelphia Public Ledger.*[24] *The Descendants of Andrew Job* [25] (1928) again repeated the 1887 Gilbert Cope and Ireland stories. Wright, the biographer of Defoe, who has made the most of the Maxwell story, acknowledges his sources as the Baltimore *Sun* story (1897) and a member of the Job family, who probably forwarded to Wright the 1928 McGuire account.

In 1933 the story appeared again in the *General Magazine* [26] and in 1934, in MacElree's *Around the Boundaries of Chester County.*[27] The latest references are those found in the *Maryland Guide,*[28] Miller's *Cecil County, Maryland,*[29] and the *Bulletin of the Cecil County Historical Society.*[30]

Unfortunately, the story is not substantiated by known facts. Defoe had at least two sisters whose births are recorded, Mary and Elizabeth. Mary married Francis Bartham and Elizabeth married Robert Davis. If there was a third sister who married a Maxwell, it does not appear in any available record.

The records of the passengers brought over to Philadelphia and records of Quakers who attended meetings at the Bull and Mouth in London show no trace of any Mrs. Maxwell or a daughter, Elizabeth Maxwell.

It is known that on January 30, 1703, a warrant for Defoe's arrest was issued and Defoe went into hiding. He was discovered on May 20 in the house of a French weaver.[31]

As to the chair, if it were a genuine sixteenth century chair, it would have been one of the last things a religious refugee from Flanders would have found room for in his belongings. If Defoe had left an antique chair, or two such chairs, he could hardly have

[24] Dec. 6, 1925, p. 10.

[25] F. J. McGuire, *Descendants of Andrew Job* (1928). Typewritten copies are in the Chester County Historical Society and the Maryland Historical Society.

[26] Edward E. Wildman, "Survival of Penn's Original Forest," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, XXXV (1933), 323-327.

[27] Wilmer W. MacElree, *Around the Boundaries of Chester County* (West Chester, 1934), pp. 178-179.

[28] *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York, 1940), p. 300.

[29] A. E. Miller, *Cecil County, Maryland, A Study in Local History* (Elkton, 1949), pp. 150-153.

[30] *Bulletin of The Historical Society of Cecil County*, No. 3 (1956).

[31] Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 91.

sent it, or them, to anyone in Maryland, for a Mrs. Brooks was suing to have all his property in London seized to satisfy what she claimed was an outstanding debt.

Of course, the importance of this story is the possibility that Defoe used the experiences of his niece, Elizabeth Maxwell, as the basis for Moll Flanders' experiences in Maryland. The description of Moll " on the Maryland side of the bay," her meeting of Quakers, her mother's will in *Moll Flanders*, has a tantalizing correlation to the Elizabeth Maxwell story in which Defoe's niece came to Maryland in 1718, settled on the Maryland side of the bay in Cecil County, served as a redemptionist under a benevolent Quaker, Andrew Job, and was left property by her dead mother's will. Then in *Colonel Jack*, Jack " sailed north to the bottom of the bay, as they called it, and into a river called Susquehanna, and then quitting the boat, they wandered through the woods till they came to Pennsylvania." This area is now Cecil County, where Elizabeth Maxwell is supposed to have settled.

Since there is no substantiation for the story, and even according to the story, Defoe was out of contact with his supposed niece in 1722 when he wrote *Moll Flanders*, we must look elsewhere for the source of Defoe's knowledge of Maryland. The one positive source of information about early Maryland for Defoe was his tobacco factor in Maryland, Samuel Sandford. In the 1680-1690's Defoe was active in shipping and business affairs.

On June 27, 1690, Defoe commenced a suit in chancery against Humphrey Ayles, who was master and part owner of a ship, *The Batcheler of London.* The bill of complaint, dated June 18, 1688, stated that Ayles had agreed to sail for America with the first good wind after June 20, carrying with him all such goods, passengers, and merchandise as Defoe should put on board. He was to sail to Boston, discharge part of his cargo to Defoe's factors there and proceed within eight days to New York, where he was to discharge more goods and take on board such goods and merchandise as Defoe's factors there might provide. The ship was to leave again for Maryland where more cargo was to be discharged and Ayles was to take " soe many hogsheads of tobacco and other goods and merchandizes." He was to spend " fifty running days in the whole (if she shall not be sooner dispatched)," and then sail for the Isle of Wight or the Downs, and there wait

twenty-four hours to receive Defoe's directions as to whether the ship should proceed to London or to Holland. The ships' company was to do the loading in Maryland, " soe always that the said tobacco's should not lye above the distance of one halfe mile from the river," and Ayles was to be paid for the loading. Defoe had the right to keep his ship six days on demurrage at New York or Maryland (over and above the fifty days already mentioned), and on demurrage he was to allow Ayles forty-five shillings a day.

Defoe's grievance was that Ayles stayed in New England twenty-six days,

> about his owne proper affairs and concerns over and beyond the type allotted . . . to the very great injury and damage to your Orator for the said Ayles knew very well that his ffraighting in Virginia depended much upon his being a forward shipp which he might have been had he not stayed in New England and loytred away the opportunity in soe much that your Orator's Agents in Virginia dispaired of his comeing and were Engaged for many of their goods before he came there.

Defoe further complained that when Ayles did arrive in Virginia he took no steps to get a cargo of tobacco on board his ship, although Defoe's agents often requested him to fetch boats and shallops to carry it away. And yet Ayles since his return home had charged Defoe £144 for demurrage in Virginia, though he himself was responsible for the delay. Not only that, but Ayles received many separate sums of money to the value of £500 or more from Defoe's agents, both abroad and at home; he also had disposed of quantities of his goods and taken on several passengers without accounting to Defoe for the money received in those ways. He had also let many of the passengers and their servants go on shore without demanding their passage money. Defoe asked that Ayles should be compelled to submit such an account.

Ayles' story was that any delay was due to contrary winds. On December 3, he delivered to Defoe's factor in Maryland the servants he had on board for him, but although he was ready with boats and shallops to fetch and lade the tobacco, there was not one hogshead provided by any factor or agent, nor was he given notice of any tobacco lying within half a mile of the river, except seven hogsheads, " which were all fetched on board with

all convenient speed." After staying at least sixty-four days on demurrage in the hope that the tobacco might turn up, he finally took in goods on account of other merchants at the best rate he could get, rather than return without any freight at all.

In a further answer dated November, 1691, Ayles asserted that he gave an account of his passage money to Defoe's correspondents at Boston, John Sharp and Joseph Beaton, co-partners. At Maryland he applied to Mr. Samuel Sandford, Defoe's only correspondent there, and Sandford having only seven hogsheads of tobacco ready had prevailed upon him to stay sixty-four days while he tried to get a lading. Ayles himself had taken great pains in the matter, and had "rid and travailed severall hundred miles thereabouts," though without success.[32]

It is interesting to note how Defoe used his knowledge of early Maryland in his novels. It must be admitted that, although in *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jack* there is much about plantation life in Maryland and Virginia, he was more intent on telling the story than in painting a background. But Defoe pictured the life of an indentured servant in early Maryland from the unique point of view of the woman character, Moll Flanders.

In the story Moll is in Virginia and wants to go to Carolina.

> We began to make inquiries for vessels going to Carolina, and in a little while, got information that on the other side of the bay, as they call it, namely in Maryland, there was a ship which came from Carolina, laden with rice and other goods, and was going back again—Thither from there to Jamaica, with provisions. He hired a sloop to take our goods and taking, as it were, a fine farewell to the Potomac River. He went with all our cargo over to Maryland. This was a long and unpleasant voyage, because the weather was but indifferent, the water rough, and the vessel small and inconvenient. We were full a hundred miles up the Potomac River, in a part which they call Westmoreland County, and as that river is the greatest in Virginia, and I have heard say it is the greatest river in the world that falls into another river, and not directly into the sea, so we had base weather in it and were frequently so broad, that when we were in the middle, we could not see land on either side for many leagues together. Then we had the great river or bay of Chesapeake to cross, which is where the river Potomac falls, into it, near thirty miles broad, and we entered more great vast waters whose names I know not, so that our voyage was full two

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[32] James K. Sutherland, "Some Early Troubles of Daniel Defoe," *Review of English Studies*, IX (1933), 275-290. (These accounts are from Public Record Office, London, C5 84/9, C7 122/9, C7 122/36.)

hundred miles in a poor sorry sloop. We came to the place in five days' sailing. I think they call it Phillip Point.[33]

Defoe also mentions the Rappahannock River. After reaching Maryland, Moll misses the boat for Carolina and decides to stay in Maryland because the country was "fertile and good." This part is of interest since it discusses the plantation life.

Here we bought two servants, viz., an English woman servant just come on shore from a ship of Liverpoole, and a negro man servant, things absolutely necessary for all people that pretend to settle in that country. This honest Quaker was very helpful. We took up a large piece of land from the Government of the country, in order to form our plantation. Having been well received here, and accomodated with a convenient lodging, till we could prepare things and have enough land cleared and timber and materials provided for building us a house, all which we managed by the direction of the Quaker, so that in one years time, we had near fifty acres of land cleared, part of it enclosed, and some of it planted with tobacco, though not much, and besides, we had a garden ground and corn sufficient to help supply our servants with roots and herbs and bread.[34]

Defoe's use of Maryland and Virginia as a setting for the adventure of Moll Flanders probably did not go unnoticed in the colonies. Morton, in his edition of *The Present State of Virginia* (1724), suggests that in a reference to "undeserved calumny" of Virginia, Hugh Jones could have had in mind Daniel Defoe's *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, who . . . was Twelve years a Whore, Five Times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother), Twelve years a Thief, Eight years a Transported Felon in Virginia. . . .*

[33] *Moll Flanders* (Modern Library Edition), p. 315.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 316-317.
[35] Richard L. Morton, *The Present State of Virginia by Hugh Jones* (Durham, N. C., 1956), p. 159.

JOHN SURRATT AND THE LINCOLN ASSASSINATION PLOT

By Alfred Isacsson [1]

JOHN HARRISON SURRATT, JR., was born on April 13, 1844, in what was then known as Surrattsville, Maryland.[2] His mother, the former Mary Eugenia Jenkins, born to a wealthy family, was educated by Mrs. Winifred Martin at her Alexandria, Virginia, school. She had married John Harrison Surratt, Sr., around 1835 [3] and lived for a time in Washington on an estate that her husband had inherited.[4] In 1840, he bought a farm in Southern Maryland and opened a tavern and general store. When a post office was opened at " Surratt's " in 1854, he obtained the

[1] In the preparation of this study, I owe a debt of gratitude to Monsignor Edward P. McAdams of Washington, who kindly shared his knowledge with me on Surratt. He had met John Surratt, was very well acquainted with his sister, Anna, and her husband, Doctor William Tonry. Their son, Reginald Tonry, was a lifelong friend of Msgr. McAdams. Annie Ward, who attended Mrs. Surratt on the scaffold, and others who were connected with the assassination of President Lincoln were also among the Monsignor's friends. Mrs. Helen Jones Campbell of Yorktown, Virginia, author of a book on Mrs. Surratt, also was generous in helping me by lending letters and other materials and by answering numerous questions. A collection of materials on Surratt and the Lincoln assassination, perhaps the largest in the world, was made available to me by the owner, Margaret Kahler Bearden of Rochester, New York, who in addition, provided me with much information. I would also like to thank my confrères, Malachy Mahoney, O. Carm., and Brian Murphy, O. Carm., Professor Peter G. Marron, under whose direction this study was originally written as a master's thesis at St. Bonaventure University, and the staffs of the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Rare Books Division and the Law Office Library. There is a bibliography of sources in my master's thesis and one has also been left at the Maryland Historical Society.

[2] Helen J. Campbell, *The Case for Mrs. Surratt* (New York, 1943), p. 37. The Baltimore *Sun*, Apr. 22, 1916, p. 16, erroneously cites Washington, D. C., as the place of his birth. Surrattsville is known today as Clinton.

[3] Guy W. Moore, *The Case of Mrs. Surratt* (Norman, 1956), p. 4.

[4] Supposedly a cruelly treated slave burned down the main house of the estate. See Lloyd Lewis, *Myths After Lincoln* (New York, 1941), p. 162. The house did catch fire but it was quickly extinguished and John Surratt, Sr., had the building repaired (Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 36). Stanley Kimmel, *The Mad Booths of Maryland* (Indianapolis, 1940), p. 195, has mutinous slaves burning down a home which Mrs. Surratt inherited shortly after her marriage. Msgr. McAdams, in conversation with this author, November 10, 1956, stated that Mrs. Surratt inherited nothing in the way of land.

appointment as postmaster.[5] In this business venture he was not too successful. An alcoholic, this represents his last attempt at recovery from a steady decline resulting from his addiction.[6] Two other children, Isaac Douglas and Anna, were born to John and Mary Surratt.

In the fall of 1859,[7] John Surratt, Jr., then fifteen, went to Saint Charles College which is staffed by the Sulpicians and was located in those days at Ellicott City, Maryland. Founded in 1848 by the Reverend Oliver L. Jenkins, S. S., the college had a six-year course of studies and was intended exclusively as preparatory to Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. Thus John Surratt went there, it is assumed, with the intention of studying for the priesthood.

In July, 1862, Surratt left Saint Charles College, apparently deciding not to be a priest. Since John's father died the same year and Isaac, the older Surratt boy, had in 1861 joined the Pony Express riding between Matamoras, Texas, and Santa Fe, New Mexico,[8] it is possible that John left the seminary to help his mother and sister at home. Returning to Surrattsville, John filled out his father's term as postmaster and assisted in the work of running the tavern and general store.[9]

Shortly after he left Saint Charles College—probably the late summer or fall of 1862—John Surratt enlisted in the Confederate army and was assigned to the Secret Service division, mainly as a dispatch rider.[10] Although this may not have been a glamorous assignment when compared to spying, John Surratt did perform valuable work for the Confederate cause by riding dispatches from Washington, through Union lines, to Confederate boats on the Potomac or to Richmond, Virginia.[11]

[5] Letter of W. W. Howes, First Assistant-Postmaster General, to Helen J. Campbell, Wash., D.C., Aug. 21, 1939.

[6] Msgr. McAdams.

[7] This is the date given by Louis Weichmann at the Conspiracy trial and at Surratt's own trial. Benn Pitman, *The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators: the Courtroom Testimony as Originally Compiled by Benn Pitman*, Facsimile edition (New York, 1954), p. 113; *Trial of John H. Surratt in the Criminal Court for the District of Columbia* [Hereafter cited as *Surratt Trial*] (Washington, 1867), I, 369. A letter from the president of the college, J. C. Dukehart, Rev. S. S., July 30, 1956, states that any college records referring to John Surratt were destroyed during the fire of 1911. After this fire, the college was moved to Catonsville.

[8] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[9] Howes to Campbell, letter of Aug. 21, 1939.

[10] The Baltimore *Sun*, Apr. 22, 1916; *New York Times*, Apr. 22, 1916.

[11] Sworn Statement of H. Sainte-Marie to Rufus King, Rome, July 10, 1866, in

Louis Weichmann was associated with Surratt in this work of carrying dispatches. Weichmann had been a fellow student and close friend of Surratt at Saint Charles. Both had left the school at the same time, and in the latter part of 1862, Weichmann obtained a teaching position at Saint Matthew's Institute in Washington.[12] He remained there a little over a year, and then he secured a position as a clerk in the War Department. In March, 1863, Weichmann visited John Surratt in Surrattsville where he met John's mother and sister, Anna. During 1863 and 1864 Surratt frequently visited Weichmann in Washington.[13]

Weichmann pilfered copies of dispatches from the War Department and turned them over to Surratt [14] who in turn conveyed them to the South along with any other information he had come across or which had been delivered to him from other sources.

In 1864, probably the early spring, John Surratt and Louis Weichmann met Henri Beaumont de Sainte-Marie who later on played an important role in John's life. Weichmann and Surratt traveled to Texas, Maryland, thirteen miles north of Baltimore, to visit the pastor of the parish there whom they knew fairly well. The pastor had gone away and Sainte-Marie, an Italian priest in good standing, was supplying for him. Sainte-Marie later claimed that about a month after this meeting Weichmann obtained for him a position teaching at Saint Matthew's Institute in Washington. That Surratt, on one of his supposed visits to Sainte-Marie, offered to send him south is another of Sainte-Marie's assertions, but this and meetings with Sainte-Marie by Surratt subsequent to the first one at Texas are doubtful.[15] It is also unlikely that Sainte-Marie played any part in Surratt's secret service activities.

During October, 1864, the Surratts moved to a three-story

Leo F. Stock, ed., *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches, 1848-1868* (Washington, 1933), p. 371. Surratt's version is given in his Rockville, Maryland, lecture, Washington *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870. Confederate Treasury Department records substantiate the fact that Surratt was a courier.

[12] Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

[13] *Surratt Trial*, I, 369.

[14] Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

[15] In Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 362, 368, 371, is given Sainte-Marie's version of the meeting and his claims as stated above. Msgr. McAdams maintains that this was the sole meeting of Surratt and Sainte-Marie. He also informed the author that Sainte-Marie was an Italian priest who later apostatized. Eventually he enlisted in the Union army as a substitute for E. D. Porter, principal of an academy in Newark, Delaware. Captured by Confederate troops, he gained his freedom by revealing the plot of some Union foragers. He states that he was sent to Nassau and came, via England, to Canada which he gives as his home. Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

house at 541 H Street, Northwest, in Washington. Besides the fact that the tavern and store lay within the Union lines and consequently suffered financial losses from the depredations of the soldiers, it is quite possible that John's courier work prompted him to persuade his mother to move.[16] She rented the tavern, store and what was left of the farm to John M. Lloyd. Until Lloyd took over in December, John Surratt remained at Surrattsville to care for the property.[17]

Coming to Washington in December, John obtained a position at the Adams Express Company for fifty dollars a month but he worked with the company only for about ten days. They were so busy moving the baggage of Union soldiers that he couldn't get leave to " go into the country on business "—more than likely his blockade running of the Union lines—so he took French leave to continue his work in behalf of the Southern cause.[18]

Once established in the house on H Street, Mrs. Surratt began to take in boarders. Appolonia Dean, an eleven-year-old orphan, and Honora Fitzpatrick, the nineteen-year-old daughter of a Washington bank collector, were her first steady boarders. Louis Weichmann, at the request of John Surratt, came to live at the boarding house before the end of 1864.[19] He was given the back room on the third floor, and when John was home he shared this room with him. Although its furnishings were plain, consisting of one bed, a table, looking glass and three trunks, Weichmann seems to have been satisfied.[20]

In February of 1865, John Holahan with his wife and daughter came to take up residence at the boarding house and occupied the two front rooms on the third floor. Anna Surratt had her room in the attic which she shared with her cousin, Olivia Jenkins, when the latter was in town. Mrs. Surratt and Miss Fitzpatrick shared the room behind the parlor on the second floor. On the ground floor were the kitchen and the dining room. Susan Jackson, a negress who did the laundry, was Mrs. Surratt's only servant.[21]

[16] Dion Haco's fictionalized work, *The Private Journal and Diary of John H. Surratt, the Conspirator* (New York, 1866), tells too vividly of these dangerous courier trips to Richmond and supposed attempts to get contracts with northern merchants for the Confederacy (pp. 47-58).

[17] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[18] *Surratt Trial*, I, 372. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 161, mentions the salary.

[19] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[20] *Surratt Trial*, I, p. 376.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

The Surratts attended Saint Aloysius Church where Father Wiget, S. J., an old friend of the family and Mrs. Surratt's confessor, was stationed.[22]

It was during the latter part of December, 1864, that John Surratt met John Wilkes Booth for the first time. Booth knew of Surratt and was anxious to meet him because his knowledge of the terrain of Southern Maryland fitted very well into Booth's plans. But it was Weichmann, who brought them together.[23]

John Surratt, suspicious of Booth at first, was naturally very reticent about his own activities in the Confederate Secret Service. Thus Booth was forced to unfold his own plan to kidnap Lincoln and thereby end the war in order to persuade Surratt to join him. Once John saw what was involved and what the outcome could be, he agreed to take part in the plot which at that time was still indefinite.[24]

After this first meeting, Booth and Surratt frequently hired horses from William Cleaver's stable on Sixth Street " to go down into the country on parties." [25] More than likely these trips were actually some sort of reconnaisance of the route to be used in the intended kidnapping.

Sometime in January, 1865, Surratt visited Richard M. Smoot, a small planter in Charles County, Maryland, and bought three boats from him for $125. Each was large enough to carry about fifteen people and Surratt had them hidden along the bank of Kings Creek.[26]

It was also at this time, January 15, 1865, that Doctor Samuel Mudd, Surratt and Booth had a rather mysterious meeting. Louis Weichmann who was present for part of it spoke of this meeting at the Conspiracy Trial and again at John Surratt's trial. His

[22] Monsignor McAdams maintains that Father Walters was not the regular confessor of Mrs. Surratt, which Father Walters claimed. He would rather confine the ministrations of Father Walters to Mrs. Surratt to the period immediately preceding her execution.

[23] *Ibid.* Monsignor realizes that this is contrary to popular belief, *e. g.* Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 10, but assigning such an active part to Weichmann helps to explain many of his subsequent actions and much of his otherwise obscure testimony at the Conspiracy Trial and John Surratt's own trial.

[24] Washington *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870. A very good description of this first meeting of Booth and Surratt may be found in Francis Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth, Fact and Fiction of Lincoln's Assassination* (Boston, 1929), pp. 63-67.

[25] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[26] This is taken from a pamphlet written by Smoot in 1908 and mentioned in Izola Forrester, *This One Mad Act: The Unknown Story of John Wilkes Booth and His Family* (Boston, 1937), pp. 260-261.

versions vary slightly as to details. Weichmann and Surratt met Booth and Mudd when they were out on a walk in Washington. Since Weichmann and Doctor Mudd were the only ones who did not know each other, Surratt handled the introductions. Subsequently they went to the National Hotel where Booth ordered wine and cigars. At some point in the conversation, all except Weichmann left for another room to discuss, so they later told Weichmann, Booth's purchase of Doctor Mudd's farm.[27] Instead, the meeting seems to have been something in the nature of a consultation about the roads out of Washington and into Southern Maryland.[28]

After this meeting at the National Hotel, Booth came a few times to visit John Surratt at the boarding house where they went upstairs to talk in private. When taken together, these January activities force one to conclude that the kidnapping of Lincoln was to take place soon. January 18 is the date given by Jim Bishop for this attempt, which he claims was to take place in Ford's theater. Surratt's part was to shut off the master gas valve under the stage and thus throw the whole theater into darkness. Lincoln's failure to attend the theater that night upset their plans.[29]

At the beginning of March, 1865, the little group of conspirators began to plan their next kidnapping attempt. Surratt and George Atzerodt, one of his own recruits for the band,[30] and David Herold rode down to Mrs. Surratt's tavern and general store at Surrattsville, Maryland. They brought two carbines, ammunition, rope and a monkey wrench which they had the tenant, John Lloyd, conceal at their direction for use in the new plot.[31] There were more meetings of the conspirators. Lewis Payne, another of the group of conspirators, disguised as a minister and going under the alias of Lewis Wood, came frequently to see John Surratt at the boarding house. One day Louis Weichmann came upon them talking in the room he shared with Surratt. Sitting upon the bed

[27] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and *Surratt Trial*, I, 371.

[28] *Ibid.*; this would then explain the map-like drawings on the back of an envelope mentioned by Weichmann.

[29] Jim Bishop, *The Day Lincoln Was Shot* (New York, 1955), p. 76. He states that records of this attempt are scarce. I have found none in primary sources I have consulted although they do indicate that something was planned for this time. Bishop's may very well be the explanation of the January activity.

[30] Kimmel, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[31] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and *Surratt Trial*, I, 277. The testimony of Lloyd varies on these occasions but this affects nothing as far as concerns us here.

surrounded by spurs and pistols, they played with bowie knives as they spoke.[32]

On March 17, Surratt and Payne went to Ford's Theater to see *Jane Shore*. They had tickets to a private box and took the Misses Honora Fitzpatrick and Appolonia Dean from the boarding house as their escorts. After they had taken the ladies home from the theater, Surratt and Payne met Booth and the rest of the conspirators at Gautier's Restaurant, where they ate in a private dining room and undoubtedly planned their next attempt.[33] They knew that President Lincoln was soon to attend a play at Soldier's Home. It was there that they hoped to kidnap him.

The next night Booth was playing Pescara in the *Apostate* and he had given John Surratt some free tickets. So John went to the theater again, this time with Louis Weichmann and on the way to Ford's they met George Atzerodt who joined them. While at the theater they saw David Herold, another one of the conspirators.[34] It was on the very next day, March 19th, that Surratt took Weichmann along with him to the Herndon House where he secured a room for Payne. Rather than use Payne's name, Surratt reserved the room under the general term, "a delicate gentleman."[35]

The morning of March 20 found all the preparations made. The President was to go that afternoon to see *Still Waters Run Deep* at the Soldiers' Home. The conspirators gathered along the road and waited for his carriage. One did come along but it was not Lincoln's. For some reason he had decided not to attend the play. Because they naturally did not know of this change of plans on the part of the President, the conspirators feared that their plot had been discovered in some way and so the group broke up, each one seeking a safe place to hide.[36]

John Surratt went to his mother's boarding house after the March 20th attempt and left as soon as possible for Richmond accompanied by Mrs. Slater, another dispatch rider.[37] While he was in Richmond, Judah Benjamin, Secretary of State for the Confederacy, gave him dispatches to carry to Canada as well as

[32] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 115, and *Surratt Trial*, I, 377.
[33] *Surratt Trial*, I, 380. Also, Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.
[34] *Surratt Trial*, I, 380:
[35] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[36] An excellent but brief description of this attempt may be found in Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
[37] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

$200 in gold to use on the way.[38] Returning north, he had trouble eluding detectives, but he succeeded and arrived in Washington on April 3—the day that the news of the fall of Richmond was received.[39]

When he arrived at the boarding house, Surratt went to John Holahan's room and exchanged with him two of his twenty dollar gold pieces for sixty dollars in paper money.[40] John also found time to go out and have some oysters with Weichmann. The following day Surratt left for New York by train.[41]

On April 6, he arrived safely in Montreal and registered at Saint Lawrence Hall under the name of John Harrison.[42] Surratt delivered the dispatches to General Edward G. Lee, Judah Benjamin's military attaché in Montreal. Lee sent John on a mission to Elmira, New York, to obtain sketches of the prison there and gather any other information which might be needed to plan a wholesale break of the Confederate soldiers imprisoned there. Surratt then left Montreal on April 12 to begin this new mission.[43]

While he was still in Canada, John Surratt wrote to his mother describing Montreal and the French Cathedral for her. Complaining of the high prices at Saint Lawrence Hall, John told her he was considering moving into a private boarding house. It was on the morning of April 14 that Mrs. Surratt received this letter.[44]

John Surratt arrived in Elmira on April 13. In the light of later events, it is quite fortunate for him that he decided to buy a suit and some other clothes. He went to Charles B. Stewart's tailor shop to buy the suit, but Stewart did not have exactly what he wanted.[45] On both April 13 and 14 John went to another clothing store, Stewart and Uffords, and did make some purchases on both these occasions. A clerk named Joseph Carroll

[38] *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870.
[39] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
[40] *Surratt Trial*, I, 670.
[41] Weichmann said that Surratt left on the evening of April 3 for Montreal (Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 114). Surratt said in his Rockville, Maryland, lecture that he left on the 4th of April (*Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870).
[42] *Surratt Trial*, I, 514, where the hotel register is given in evidence and David H. Bates testifies that this is Surratt's signature. Also p. 748, where Miss Honora Fitzpatrick swears that this is his writing.
[43] *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870. " Defendant's Affidavit of Proof," U. S. vs. John H. Surratt, No. 4731, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
[44] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[45] Stewart could not remember whether it was April 13 or 14 that Surratt came into his store, *Surratt Trial*, I, 723-724.

waited on him and carefully marked both purchases in the cash book.[46]

Early in the morning of April 15—the day after the assassination of President Lincoln—John Surratt, still in Elmira, went into John Cass' clothing store. He tried to buy some white shirts but Cass did not have the style he wanted. During the course of his conversation with Surratt, Cass mentioned the assassination of Lincoln and apparently this is the first news Surratt had of the fact.[47]

That same Saturday John took the train to Canandaigua, New York, and in the evening he registered for a room at the Webster House again using the alias of John Harrison.[48]

The questions arise, could Surratt possibly have been an accomplice in the assassination in the light of the above evidence, and did he even know of the planned assassination?

There were certain people who claimed they had seen John Surratt in Washington on the day of the assassination, April 14, 1865. Theodore Benjamin Rhodes, a clock repairer, said that he observed Surratt in Ford's on April 14 fixing the door to the President's box. When discovered by Rhodes, John supposedly said he was going to decorate the box for that evening.[49] However, John T. Ford, the owner of the theater, when testifying for the defense at Surratt's trial showed quite clearly that Rhodes' story was impossible because its details did not fit in with the construction of the theater.[50]

Charles Wood said that he saw Surratt in a Washington barbershop on the morning of the 14th.[51] Joseph M. Dye and Frank M. Heaton both claimed that they noticed him at Ford's the night of the assassination.[52] It was on the following morning that Charles Ramsell thought he spotted John Surratt going past Fort Bunker Hill in Washington.[53] The testimony of all these witnesses to Surratt's presence in Washington was very noticeably lacking in

[46] *Ibid.*, I, 733.
[47] *Ibid.*, I, 725. Cass himself learned of the assassination from *The Elmira Advertiser* of April 15 which he read that morning between 7:00 and 7:30 A. M., *Ibid.*, I, 726.
[48] *Surratt Trial*, I, 761. Failing produced the register of the hotel at Surratt's trial and identified him as John Harrison.
[49] *Surratt Trial*, I, 501.
[50] *Ibid.*, I, 545, 546.
[51] *Ibid.*, I, 495.
[52] *Ibid.*, I, 135, 500.
[53] *Ibid.*, I, 499.

details; nor was there any written evidence such as the cash book of Stewart and Uffords clothing store. None of the witnesses appeared to have ever seen or met John Surratt before they supposedly saw him in Washington on these occasions.

The part that Surratt is supposed to have played in Lincoln's assassination varied among those who stood for his complicity—stated as a fact in the Charge and Specification at the Conspiracy Trial.[54] One has him cutting wires during the escape of the killers to keep them ahead of the news of the assassination.[55] Another has him assigned to kill General U. S. Grant but losing his nerve when the time came.[56] Sainte-Marie would make him the brains behind it all, acting on orders from Richmond. After he had planned everything, he left for New York where he was on the night of the assassination, and at one time Sainte-Marie even had the Catholic clergy behind the scenes of the assassination.[57]

Was it physically possible for Surratt to have done any of these things?

We have seen that both the testimony of Joseph Carroll and the cash book of Stewart and Uffords clothing store unquestionably placed John Surratt in Elmira on April 14. Also it has been mentioned how he came to John Cass' store to buy some white shirts early in the morning of April 15, the day after the assassination. Could John Surratt have made it to Washington, participated in the assassination and then returned to Elmira in the interval between these two events? It took twelve hours for the train to travel from Elmira to New York City.[58] Leaving Elmira very early on the morning of the 14th, John Surratt could have possibly reached Washington in time for the assassination that night shortly after 10:00 P.M. But he never could have stopped in at Stewart and Uffords on the morning of the 14th because he would have had to leave Elmira before 6:00 A.M. at the very latest.

The General Superintendent of the North Central Railroad, J. N. Dubarry, showed at Surratt's trial that a train leaving Washington on the night of the 14th, after the assassination, could not

[54] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[55] Kimmel, *op. cit.*, p. 357.
[56] John A. Gay, "The Fate of the Lincoln Conspirators: the Account of the Hanging, Given by Lieutenant-Colonel Christian Rath, the Executioner," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVII (1911), 632-633.
[57] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 368, 371, 382.
[58] *Surratt Trial*, I, 724.

have arrived in Elmira in time enough to permit Surratt to be back at Cass' clothing store before the end of the morning of the 15th of April.[59] Under cross-examination, Dubarry was forced to modify his statement somewhat to the effect that there was a very slight possibility that John Surratt could have made it back to Elmira before the morning of April 15.[60] It seems to me that this slight possibility is eliminated by the fact that after the assassination General Tyler stopped at the Relay House all the trains coming out of Washington, searched them and held them for a while [61]—a fact not brought out at John Surratt's trial.

This evidence, in conjunction with the testimony to his presence in Elmira, makes it necessary to conclude that it was physically impossible for John Surratt to have participated in the assassination. Moreover, all this had presupposed another fact: his knowledge of the assassination.

It is generally agreed that John Wilkes Booth decided to assassinate Lincoln sometime between the preceding Monday and Wednesday (April 10-12). For a long time he and the other conspirators tried to kidnap Lincoln but only after the surrender at Appomattox did he decide on such a desperate measure to save the Confederacy. At the time that he made this decision, John Surratt was either in Montreal or on his way to Elmira. Surratt later admitted that he had consented to participate in kidnapping but denied that killing had ever been part of the plan.[62] But did he know of and consent to this new plan?

One version of the assassination would have Booth in New York getting in touch with Surratt in Canada and asking him to come to Washington. When John got as far south as Elmira, he supposedly telegraphed Booth, then found out that Booth had gone to Washington and went there himself.[63] There is no evidence to support this beyond the statement of one man whose reputation for veracity was none too strong.[64] Surratt later told

[59] *Ibid.*, II, 772.
[60] *Ibid.*, II, 775.
[61] Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-285.
[62] *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870.
[63] Testimony of Dr. L. J. McMillan, U. S. Congress, Committee on the Judiciary, Report No. 33, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, March 2, 1867, p. 13; Philip Van Doren Stern, *The Man Who Killed Lincoln* (New York, 1939), pp. 31-32.
[64] Father Charles Boucher said under cross-examination at Surratt's trial that Dr. McMillan's reputation for truthfulness around Shefford, Canada, where he practiced was not too good. *Surratt Trial*, II, 898-914, esp. p. 900.

how he did telegraph Booth from Elmira, but he did this after the assassination, and his purpose was to find out where Booth was and if he had had any part in Lincoln's death.[65]

From the testimony supporting his departure from Montreal and his presence in Elmira and considering the negligible evidence for the fact that Booth contacted him, it seems most likely that John Surratt did not even know of John Wilkes Booth's decision to assassinate Lincoln.

After arriving at Canandaigua on Saturday, April 15, John Surratt stayed at the Webster House until Monday. He later described how he saw in Monday's paper that he was wanted for complicity in the assassination and that a reward of $25,000 was being offered for his capture.[66] He was hunted because he was mistaken for the assailant of William H. Seward, Lewis Payne.[67] Either because he realized that return to Washington would result in a speedy trial and conviction or simply because of fear, John Surratt fled to Canada. On April 18, he registered for a room at Saint Lawrence Hall, Montreal.[68]

As soon as John Surratt was listed as wanted, the Washington Police Department sent to Canada Louis Weichmann and John Holahan along with James McDevitt, a policeman, to search for him. The police had learned from Weichmann that John Surratt was in Canada on a mission for the Confederacy. On the night of April 20, the group had gotten as far north as Burlington, Vermont, and slept in the Burlington depot while they waited for the train to Canada. There, Holahan lost his tobacco as well as a handkerchief of Surratt's. This had been given to Holahan by the laundry woman at the boarding house by mistake. Someone found the lost handkerchief and turned it in to the local police who spent some time looking for Surratt in that area after Weichmann, Holahan and McDevitt had left.[69]

[65] *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. 46, Part III, pp. 847-848, gives a description of Surratt and the reward notice. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. 47, Part III, p. 287, W. T. Sherman to Generals Johnston and Hardie, In the Field, Raleigh, North Carolina, states that Surratt attacked Seward and was then in custody.

[68] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 114; *Surratt Trial*, I, 514, 748.

[69] *Ibid.*, I, 677, 709. Charles L. Baker, *History of the Secret Service* (Philadelphia, 1867), pp. 555-559, gives letters in support of this theory. Dr. L. J. McMillan created quite a story from the mere finding of this handkerchief. He placed it in Saint Albans, Vermont, by mistake. *Surratt Trial*, I, 472, and U. S. Cong. Report No. 33, p. 13.

By the time they arrived in Montreal, Surratt was either staying or visiting at the house of John Porterfield,[70] a Confederate agent, where Weichmann just missed catching him. Surratt had to find a safer place to hide than Montreal.

After crossing the Saint Lawrence River by boat, a young lady guided him to Saint Liboire where he arrived around April 22.[71] Joseph F. Du Tully, a woodsman, brought him to the town's Catholic rectory where John stayed for about three months with the pastor, Father Charles Boucher. Surratt and Du Tully frequently went hunting together; sometimes, Father Boucher went along. Excepting excursions of this sort, Surratt kept pretty close to Saint Liboire. By the beginning of May, Father Boucher had deduced John Surratt's real identity but did not turn him in to the United States authorities because he supposedly believed in his innocence.[72]

In August, Father Boucher brought John Surratt to Montreal where he introduced him to a Father La Pierre. Rather than have John stay at his own house in Montreal, Father La Pierre had him stay at the house of his father, a seller of boots and shoes.[73] Remaining there only a short time, John decided to go to Europe.

During the second week of September, both Father La Pierre and Father Boucher accompanied John Surratt to Quebec on the steamer *Montreal*.[74] While on board Father La Pierre recognized a friend, Dr. Lewis J. A. McMillan, and introduced Surratt to

[70] *Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870. Margaret Bearden states that John Porterfield came to Montreal from Tennessee early in the war and readily harbored any rebels in Canada who were in need of a place to stay.

[71] *Surratt Trial*, I, 473.

[72] *Ibid.*, II, 895, 905, 907.

[73] Dr. L. J. McMillan came up with a rather wild story explaining Surratt's departure for Montreal. Supposedly a maid discovered someone—not knowing it was Surratt—hiding in the rectory. When it was rumored about that the priest had a woman living in his room, Surratt then had to make his presence public for the priest's sake and eventually leave for his own safety. *Ibid.*, I, 473. Concerning Fr. La Pierre, see *Ibid.*, II, 908.

[74] McMillan denied that Fr. La Pierre went on the *Montreal* to Quebec (*Ibid.*, I, 462). A dispatch from the U. S. Consul Wilding at Liverpool to the State Department indicates that McMillan told Wilding that Fr. La Pierre was on the steamer to Quebec. See H. Wilding to W. H. Seward, Liverpool, Sept. 27, 1865, No. 538, in U. S. Consul, Liverpool, Dispatches to the State Department, vol. XXXIII (Apr. 19, 1865—Apr. 11, 1866), National Archives, Wash., D. C. (Hereafter cited as Liverpool Dispatches). Fr. Boucher deliberately kept out of McMillan's way on the ship because of a previous disagreement with him and consequently did not give McMillan knowledge of his presence on the ship. *Ibid.*, II, 898 f, 910. McMillan at one time gave the date of departure as Sept. 11 (U. S. Cong. Report No. 33, p. 13). At the trial of Surratt he gave Sept. 16 as the date (*Surratt Trial* I, 462).

him as Mr. McCarthy. He asked McMillan to look out for him on the subsequent trip from Quebec to Liverpool. The Doctor agreed. From Montreal John Surratt set sail for Liverpool on the *Peruvian*, the same ship on which McMillan was employed as surgeon.[75]

While on the *Peruvian* John Surratt is supposed to have worn spectacles, a false beard and had his hair dyed dark brown to avoid any possible detection.[76] He left the ship when it stopped at Londonderry, Ireland, and then crossed over to Liverpool on another ship. There he stayed at the Oratory of the Holy Cross.[77]

Dr. McMillan meanwhile went to see the American consul at Liverpool, H. Wilding, on September 26, the day after he landed. He told Wilding of his being introduced to Surratt under the name of McCarthy on the *Montreal.* He described how aboard the *Peruvian* John eventually told him of his being in the Confederate Secret Service and claimed to be innocent of any complicity in Lincoln's assassination. Surratt was to get in touch with him by note and in this way, McMillan explained, they would know where he was staying should the United States want to attempt extraditing him. After he had received the expected note from Surratt, McMillan visited Wilding two more times; first, with Surratt's address at the Holy Cross Oratory and then to convey to him the information that Surratt hoped to live long enough to give a good account of President Johnson. The latter Wilding forwarded to Washington as a warning.[78] Eventually instructions of the State Department arrived at Liverpool in reply to Wilding's dispatches containing all this information. The Acting Secretary of State, William Hunter, wrote Wilding that after consulting Secretary of War Stanton and Judge Advocate General Holt, " it is thought advisable that no action be taken in regard to the arrest of the supposed John Surratt at present." [79]

Dr. McMillan carried a note back to Montreal to Father La Pierre from Surratt. John hoped to get some money from Father La Pierre who in turn was to get the money from someone in

[75] Liverpool Dispatches No. 538. This gives the name " Mr. Lepierre " for Fr. La Pierre. Also see *Surratt Trial*, I, 462.

[76] *Ibid.*, I, 463; U. S. Cong. Report No. 33, p. 14.

[77] Liverpool Dispatches Nos. 538, 539.

[78] *Ibid.*, also, No. 544. McMillan tried to pass himself off with Wilding as a passenger on the *Peruvian* but Wilding discovered from another source that he was the surgeon.

[79] Instructions to Consuls, Vol. XL, No. 476, pp. 552-553, National Archives.

Washington. After delivering this note, McMillan went to John Fox Potter, the American consul in Montreal, to turn in the information, repeating at the same time what he had told Wilding in Liverpool. Potter, unaware of the decision already sent by the State Department to Liverpool, forwarded this information to Washington with the suggestion that someone be sent on the same ship as the money to apprehend John Surratt. But adhering to its previous decision, the State Department did not even acknowledge the reception of the dispatches.[80]

From Liverpool John Surratt went to London.[81] According to Sainte-Marie, he had a letter of introduction given to him in Canada to someone in London. From this person he received some money. This man supposedly wanted to send John to Spain but he preferred to go to Paris, and he went there next with another letter of introduction.[82]

How long John stayed in Paris is not known, but he soon went to Italy. Detained at Civita Vecchia because of the lack of funds, he wrote to Doctor Neve, the Rector of the English College in Rome, for money and received fifty francs from him. Once John arrived in Rome, he went to see Doctor Neve and was able to stay for some time at the English College. Eventually, he enlisted in the army of the Papal States under the name of Watson.[83]

While John Surratt was hiding in Canada and making good his

[80] J. F. Potter to W. H. Seward, Montreal, Oct. 23, 1865, [no number]; No. 236; No. 237; in U. S. Consul, Montreal, Dispatches to the State Department, Vol. VII, National Archives.

[81] Haco, *op. cit.*, p. 98, gives Oct. 1, 1865, as the date of his arrival in London. There is no way of checking whether this is correct. C. M. Alexander, *The Career and Adventures of John H. Surratt* (Philadelphia, 1866), pp. 21-23, tells of Surratt's supposed adventures in London. He is pictured as going about as an old man with his male servant.

[82] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-368, 371. H. de Sainte-Marie (*Ibid.*, p. 368) has Surratt being offered £10,000 by someone in London for writing up the assassination for publication. Besides receiving money in London, John could have gotten money from Fr. La Pierre which he had sent for through Dr. McMillan. Surratt must have had some source to supply him with funds sufficient for his travels. The dispatches from the Consul Wilding at Liverpool to the State Department for this period contain clippings from English papers which show the presence of many Southerners and Confederate sympathizers in England. One of these could very possibly be the party referred to by Sainte-Marie.

[83] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 371, 397-398. Dr. Neve was Rector of the College from 1863 to 1867. Cf. Cardinal Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1920), pp. 256-258, 262-266. The anonymous *Life, Trial and Extraordinary Adventures of John H. Surratt, the Conspirator* (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 38, has Surratt entering a seminary in Rome before joining the Papal Zouaves.

escape, his mother was arrested, included in the speedy trial given to the other conspirators and was hanged for her complicity in the assassination. Certainly John knew of these things and the question naturally occurs: why did he not return to Washington to assist in his mother's defense? Had he then returned, he most surely would have been captured, included in the same military trial and executed. Since this was the fate of Mary Surratt whose only connection with the group of conspirators was through her son, for John it would have been even more certain.[84] He chose flight rather than return to certain death.

John Surratt knew very well the injustice dealt to his mother. His feelings on the affair are best expressed by an incident which occurred later in his life. When he filled out an application for a life insurance policy, he stated the cause of his mother's death as " murdered by the United States Government." [85]

The army of the Papal States probably would have been an effective hiding place for John Surratt even if the United States had been interested in his apprehension. As John Watson, a Papal Zouave, he was unrecognized until an extremely improbable coincidence occurred. Henri Beaumont de Sainte-Marie, the former priest who had met Surratt and Weichmann for the only time a few years before at Texas, Maryland, was now also in the Papal Zouaves. He met John at Sezze and recognized him. In the conversation that followed, John told him of his being wanted and of his flight to avoid arrest.

On April 21, 1866, Sainte-Marie went to Rufus King, the American Minister to the Papal States, and told him of Surratt's presence at Sezze. Two days later he wrote to King from Velletri hinting quite strongly that 500 to 600 francs which he needed to obtain a discharge from the army would be a nice return for his information, thereby giving a clue to his character.[86]

King meanwhile informed the Secretary of State of Surratt's being in the Papal States and asked for instructions. Acting Secretary F. W. Seward instructed King to have Sainte-Marie's statement verified and he added that he would have a check made

[84] Albert G. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times* (New York, 1895), p. 340, claims that the government offered to pardon Mrs. Surratt unconditionally if John would surrender himself. Riddle says that this message was conveyed to John Surratt in Baltimore and that " we were morally certain " he received it.

[85] Information supplied by Helen J. Campbell.

[86] Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

on Sainte-Marie around Washington. Seward could find nothing derogatory about him. This dispatch requesting the sworn statement was not received by Rufus King until June 30th and it was July 14th before he secured the statement and sent it to the State Department.[87]

By the time that Sainte-Marie made the sworn statement to Rufus King, his attitude had changed from that of one very disinterestedly performing his duty to that of an opportunist. At the end of June, he informed King he could be released from the Papal Army for fifty pounds, was willing to go to the United States to testify and expected compensation, possibly in the form of a reward of some sort.[88] When making the sworn statement, he told King of the danger to his life were it made known he had betrayed Surratt. He added to the story an aged mother in straitened circumstances, living in Canada.[89]

On August 7th, Rufus King brought up the matter of Surratt and his extradition in an interview with Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal Secretary of State. The Cardinal assured him that if the United States wanted his surrender " there would probably be no difficulty in the way." [90] He was also willing to discharge Sainte-Marie.

The sworn statement of Sainte-Marie was forwarded to the War Department for their consideration after it had been received by the State Department.[91] Why, is an unanswerable question. Extradition was under the jurisdiction of the State Department; Surratt's trial, were he extradited, would not be a military trial conducted by the War Department as a result of the *ex parte Milligan* decision in 1866. Whatever the reason Seward had for doing this, no action resulted on the part of the United States Government. Only after Rufus King had conveyed to the State Department the complaints of Sainte-Marie that little notice had been taken of his information about Surratt and his threats to reveal this information did Seward forward definite directions in regard to Surratt's case.[92]

[87] *Ibid.*, 359-360, 363, 369-70, 370-372. Haco, *op. cit.*, p. 103, tells how Sainte-Marie and Surratt were supposedly trying to win the same Roman girl and how Sainte-Marie, losing out, swore revenge. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 35, has Sainte-Marie enlisting in the same company of Zouaves as Surratt so that he could capture him.

[88] Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 370, 372.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 377-378.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 381-382.

Seward directed Rufus King to send someone to Velletri to identify Surratt. Sainte-Marie was to be "confidentially" paid $250 in gold for the information which he had already given. King was also to ask Cardinal Antonelli if he would really give up Surratt upon authentic indictment and at the request of the Department. If the answer was negative, he was then to find out if His Holiness would enter into an extradition treaty which would enable the United States to obtain Surratt's surrender. Finally, King was to ask the Cardinal not to discharge either Surratt or Sainte-Marie from the Zouaves until he, Seward, had answered King's reply to these instructions.[93]

Cardinal Antonelli agreed to the last request in an interview with Rufus King and J. C. Hooker, acting secretary of the American legation at Rome. He also promised to deliver up Surratt at the request of the State Department in the absence of an extradition treaty with the understanding that the United States would do the same under parallel circumstances. He was willing to do this even though, as he thought, it meant delivering up a criminal likely to suffer capital punishment, something which was against the policy of the Papal States.[94]

King informed Seward of Cardinal Antonelli's decision and said he would pay Sainte-Marie the designated amount, hold out to him both the hope of further remuneration should Surratt be surrendered and of discharge from the Zouaves should he be needed as a witness in the United States. Thus, almost seven months after hearing of Surratt's presence in the Papal Zouaves, the State Department decided to set in motion the machinery which it hoped would result in his extradition. What was the reason for this delay?

Because of the Lambdin Milligan case, the trial of John Surratt before a military commission was ruled out. If extradited and brought back to the United States he would have to be tried before a jury. Secretary of State Seward and Judge Advocate General Holt knew as well as Secretary of War Stanton that Surratt could not be convicted as a principal in the assassination of President Lincoln in any court of law. There simply was no incriminating evidence to present to a jury.[95]

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80, 385-387.

[95] Loretta Clare Feiertag, *American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States, 1847-1867* (Washington, 1933), p. 136.

Besides, President Andrew Johnson was against Surratt's extradition simply because he feared its consequences. The old rumors about Johnson being implicated in the assassination of Lincoln were still on the tongues of many of the Radical Republicans in Congress. A person like Surratt was just what they wanted. President Johnson believed "Such a person and in such a condition might, if approached, make almost any statement." [96] President Johnson had good grounds for fear, and subsequent investigation showed that he was definitely opposed to Surratt's extradition. It also appears that the change in governmental policy, indicated by Seward's instructions to King to begin the preliminaries of extradition, was caused by the agitation of the Radicals.[97]

On November 6, while King's dispatch to the State Department was still in transit, Cardinal Antonelli had a telegram sent to Velletri ordering the arrest of John Surratt, alias John Watson. This was done in anticipation of the formal application of the United States in order to show the good will of the Papal government.[98] The next day, Captain de Lambilly at battalion headquarters in Velletri sent Sergeant Halyerid and six Zouaves to Tresulti where Surratt's company was on detachment. John, however, was in Veroli on leave so De Lambilly detailed Corporal Vanderstroeten of Surratt's company to arrest him. This he did without difficulty, and at Veroli he turned him over to Corporal Warrin who was in charge of the prison. It was a secure prison and two armed Zouaves stood guard during the night.[99]

On the morning of November 8, John Surratt was awakened at 4:00 A.M.; he put on his gaiters and was given some coffee. The gate of the prison opened onto a platform beyond which there was a sheer drop of twenty to thirty-five feet onto the rocks below. The platform overlooked the countryside and had a balustrade to enable walkers to enjoy the view in safety. As Corporal Warrin and six Zouaves accompanied Surratt out of the prison, John asked

[96] Edgar T. Welles, ed., *Diary of Gideon Welles: Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson* (Boston, 1911), III, p. 31. These are Johnson's words as reported by Welles.

[97] U. S. Cong. Report No. 33, p. 2, and "Surratt," *The Age* (Philadelphia), Dec. 17, 1866, p. 2, show Johnson's position. *The Press* (Philadelphia), Dec. 11, 1866, p. 4, and De Witt, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-148, illustrate the different positions of the legislative and executive departments of the government.

[98] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 389, 392.

[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 393.

to stop at the latrine which was beside the prison gate. Then he grasped the balustrade in his hands and vaulted over it down onto the rocks below, his fall being broken by the filth from the barracks which was deposited there. Quickly he made his way into the valley below, thereby gaining a lead on the Zouave patrols who were sent in pursuit of him.[100]

Though he injured his arm and back in his leap, John Surratt made his way eastward across the border of the Papal States to Sora, in the Kingdom of Italy, where he entered the hospital for treatment. After he had left the hospital, John Surratt went to Naples still wearing his Zouave uniform. Posing as an Englishman without money, who had deserted from the Zouaves, he asked to be allowed to stay in the local prison. There he remained for three days during which time the police questioned him. When they discovered that he had twelve scudi, he explained that he had asked to stay in prison in order to save his money.[101]

On the third day, he asked to be taken to the English Consul. Although he was without a passport or papers of any kind, he was able to convince the Consul that he was a Canadian and therefore, an English subject. The Consul secured him passage on a steamer to Alexandria, Egypt. Some Englishmen offered to pay for his board enroute and gave him a few francs besides. Then, still wearing his Zouave uniform and using the name of Walters, he boarded the steamer *Tripoli* at Naples for Alexandria on the evening of November 17, 1866.

While Surratt was making good his escape, Rufus King had not been idle. On November 10, he went to see Cardinal Antonelli and it was then that he first heard of Surratt's arrest and escape. Presuming that he would attempt to go out of the Papal States and into the Kingdom of Italy, King sent a messenger to Florence to try to secure Surratt's surrender from the Italian government.[102]

As soon as King had informed George P. Marsh, the American Minister at Florence, that Surratt was in the hospital at Sora, Marsh requested the Italian government to detain him. Marsh sought this " until further proceedings can be had to ensure his surrender to such officers of the United States as shall be author-

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 392, 393.
[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 395-397.
[102] *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389.

ized to receive him." [103] There were various delays on the part of the Italian government and when John Surratt left Naples on the *Tripoli*, no answer had been given to Marsh's request. Later, Marsh, in an interview with the Italian Secretary General of Foreign Affairs, received the impression " that the accused would not have been surrendered. . . ." [104]

As soon as Frank Swan, the United States Consul at Naples, discovered that John Surratt had boarded the *Tripoli* for Alexandria, he telegraphed this information to both Rufus King at Rome and William Winthrop, the United States Consul at Malta. Because the ship did not take on coal at Naples it was to stop at Malta to refuel.[105] Winthrop went to the acting Chief Secretary at Malta the morning after he received Swan's telegram. He asked for the detention of Surratt until he could be returned to the United States and also sent both a public dispatch and a private note requesting the same. That very day, Monday, November 19, the *Tripoli* arrived at Malta, but because the vessel was in quarantine Winthrop could not communicate with it. Only about 4:00 P.M., as the *Tripoli* was leaving, did a reply come to Winthrop's request. It was denied despite the fact that the United States had a treaty of extradition with Malta.[106]

Rufus King had telegraphed Charles Hale, the American Consul at Alexandria, about Surratt's presence on the *Tripoli.* But because the cable from Malta to Egypt was broken, King's message was probably sent to Egypt on the *Tripoli*, being put aboard it when the stop was made at Malta for coal.[107] Winthrop also telegraphed a message to Charles Hale from Malta via Constantinople asking him to arrest Surratt.[108] Upon receipt of Winthrop's telegram, Hale proceeded to make the arrest of John Surratt when he disembarked from the *Tripoli* on November 23.

Surratt was taken by the soldiers to a safe place within the walls of the quarantine area where he was interrogated, but he would only reply, " I have nothing to say; I want nothing but

[103] U. S. Minister to Italy, Florence, Dispatches to the State Department, Vol. II, No. 168, enclosures I and H, National Archives.
[104] *Ibid.*, No. 169.
[105] Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 395.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 400. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 95, states that the Governor at Malta did not deny the request but merely refused to answer it.
[107] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-396.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

what is right." The quarantine lasted until November 29 and then Surratt was taken to the government prison.[109]

Hale sent a cable to Secretary of State Seward informing him of Surratt's capture and suggested that a man-of-war be sent to return him to the United States. Actually no formal proceedings had been used in Surratt's capture in Alexandria. It seems that the Egyptian officials simply complied with Hale's request to assist in arresting him. As Hale himself stated, " Although the ' Extradition ' was thus accepted as a matter of course, I respectfully suggest that it may be well that I should be instructed to express to His Highness the acknowledgments of the President." [110] Hale informed the British legal vice-Consul and Judge, Mr. Francis, of the whole affair and gave him leave to visit John Surratt. Francis made no attempt to see him, and Surratt made no claim to British citizenship as he had done at Naples by saying he was a Canadian.[111]

At the time of Surratt's capture, Rufus King had already asked through the State Department for a warship, and until it was needed, it was to be stationed at Civita Vecchi.[112] Then while Surratt was still on his way to Alexandria on the *Tripoli* and his apprehension seemed likely, King requested a vessel from the Commander of the European Squadron, Admiral Goldsborough, after consulting with the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Gustavus Fox, who was then in Italy.[113] On December 10th, the warship *Swatara*, commanded by Captain William N. Jeffers, arrived at Civita Vecchia. On December 14th Rufus King placed Henri Beaumont de Sainte-Marie aboard the *Swatara* as a passenger.[114] Sainte-Marie had been discharged from the Papal

[109] U. S. Consul, Alexandria, Dispatches to the State Department, Vol. IV, Nos. 66, 68, National Archives. The quotations above are from these dispatches. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 96-98, has Hale using his servant Pheroda to capture Surratt. He deceives Surratt by volunteering to help him and then leads him to a place where two other servants are waiting. Together, they capture him.

[110] Alexandria Dispatches, No. 72.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Besides conducting Surratt to the United States, King stated that a U. S. vessel at Civita Vecchia would gratify Cardinal Antonelli who suggested that an American vessel be added to those of other nations at Civita Vecchia. Such would also protect Americans in Rome. Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-389.

[113] Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 393-395.

[114] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 406-407, gives the date of the *Swatara's* arrival at Civita Vecchia as Dec. 12, and its departure as Dec. 13. The dates I use are from the log of the Screw Sloop *Swatara*, attached to the European Squadron, No. 4, National Archives.

Zouaves through the efforts of Rufus King, who thought that he might be needed in Alexandria to identify John Surratt. The *Swatara* arrived at Alexandria on December 20. The following day, as recorded in the *Swatara's* log, " At 1 P.M. received on board a person delivered by the U. S. Consul General, Mr. Charles Hale supposed to be John H. Surratt one of the Conspirators implicated in the assassination of the late President Lincoln." [115] Captain Jeffer's clerk recognized John Surratt, " having seen him often about Washington." [116] On December 26th, the *Swatara* left Alexandria, after receiving orders to stop next at Port Mahon to receive further orders from Admiral Goldsborough.[117] Not finding him there, the *Swatara* went to Villa Franca, where it received orders to go to the United States. This it did, stopping only at Madeira for coal and provisions.[118]

When Rufus King had placed Henri de Sainte-Marie on the *Swatara* at Civita Vecchia thinking he might be of some help in identifying John Surratt, King also intended that he would go to the United States on the *Swatara* to testify against Surratt.[119] Captain Jeffers would not allow Sainte-Marie to go ashore at Alexandria. Sainte-Marie had been quite loquacious in telling the crew of the *Swatara* his various accomplishments and Captain Jeffers feared that he would " babble " if let ashore.[120] This refusal irked Sainte-Marie and he finally left the *Swatara* at Villa Franca, " at his own request, by direction of Rear Admiral Goldsborough." [121] At the insistance of Rufus King, Mr. Aldis, the American Consul at Nice, persuaded Sainte-Marie to continue to the United States. The United States Minister at Paris, John Dix, secured passage for him on a steamer which left for New York on February 2, 1867.[122]

The *Swatara* had left Nice on January 8th. Towards the end of the month, the ship's arrival in the United States was expected

[115] Log of the *Swatara*, Dec. 21, 1866.
[116] Alexandria Dispatches, [no number] Hale to Seward, Dec. 24, 1866, Dec. 27, 1866.
[117] *Ibid.*, No. 72. This is a different dispatch from the one cited in the preceding note. They were both probably sent together since the date of reception, Jan. 22, 1867, is the same for both.
[118] Log of the *Swatara*. Jan. 23-Feb. 18, 1867.
[119] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 406-407.
[120] U. S. Cong. Report No. 33, p. 17.
[121] Log of the *Swatara*, Jan. 8, 1867.
[122] Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-413. For Sainte-Marie's version of the story, see pp. 411-412.

daily. However, it was feared that the *Swatara* could not dock at Washington, Annapolis or Baltimore since all these ports were closed due to ice which extended south of Washington for forty miles.[123] President Johnson feared that the Radical Republicans would try to suborn Surratt and so ordered Admiral Goldsborough to prevent any unauthorized person from communicating with him, while he was still on board the *Swatara*.[124] In the middle of February, when the *Swatara* arrived in the area of Chesapeake Bay, it encountered some floating ice but it was able to proceed up the Potomac River. It docked at the Washington Navy Yard and John Surratt was arrested and taken from the vessel directly to jail by the United States Marshal, David S. Gooding, there to await his trial.[125]

The trial of John Surratt was held in the District of Columbia City Hall and was conducted by the Criminal Court of the District of Columbia.[126] The charge was that of complicity in the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. District Attorney Edward Carrington and his assistant, Nathaniel Wilson, were the prosecution. As assistant counsels they had Albert G. Riddle and Edwards Pierrepont. Surratt's lawyer was Joseph H. Bradley, who had as his assistants Richard T. Merrick and Joseph H. Bradley, Jr. Judge George Fisher presided.

The trial began on June 10, 1867, at 10:00 A.M., but choosing the jury took until Tuesday, June 18. The prosecution tried to build up its case on the fact that Surratt associated frequently with Booth, relying mainly on the testimony of Louis Weichmann.[127] They also attempted to show that he was present in Washington both during the day and evening of April 14, 1865. This as we have already seen was not proved. The prosecution also rehashed the old Conspiracy Trial, taking that trial as true and just, and now trying to prove the thesis upon which the case against one of the defendants of that trial had rested: the guilt

[123] Welles, *op. cit.*, III, 29.

[124] *Ibid.*, III, p. 31.

[125] U. S. Cong. Report No. 33, p. 17; Log of the *Swatara*, Feb. 19, 1867. The actual warrant for his arrest may be found in *U. S.* v. *John H. Surratt*, No. 5920, National Archives.

[126] Inquiries of this author at the present Municipal Court and the Federal Court of the District of Columbia revealed that prior to 1909, there were only magistrates at this Municipal Court. The Federal Court of the District, Criminal Division, is the successor to the Criminal Court which tried John Surratt. The records of this case are now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[127] *Surratt Trial*, I, 369-389; esp. 371-372.

of Mrs. Mary Surratt in the assassination was in consequence of her son's guilt.[128]

There was some delay because of the illness of the presiding judge,[129] but District Attorney Carrington began his argument to the jury for conviction on Saturday, July 27th, and concluded it on the following Tuesday. Both Merrick and the senior Bradley presented the defense and finished it on August 2nd. Next, Edwards Pierrepont spoke for the prosecution from August 3rd to the 6th. The jury of eight southerners and four northerners began to deliberate on the following day. Three days later they announced that they could not agree on a verdict and asked for a dismissal of the case. John Surratt, seeking exoneration, would not consent to the latter and so was given over to the custody of the marshal to be returned to jail.[130]

Although the vote of the jury was not announced, it was believed that the jury was seven to five for acquittal.[131] Judge Fisher, before dismissing the court, ordered the name of Joseph Bradley, Sr., stricken from the roll of attorneys of the Court because Bradley had accused him of using insulting language as the Judge descended from his bench for recess on July 2.[132]

The motion for another trial for John Surratt seems to have begun very soon after the first trial. However, because of an act of Congress, the jury for this second trial could not have been selected before February, 1868. On February 4, Surratt was re-indicted and his trial set for February 24.[133] At that time the House of Representatives was trying to impeach President Andrew Johnson and Surratt's trial was either neglected or else forgotten.

Early the following June, Edward Carrington informed O. H. Browning, the Attorney General, that he wished to *nolle prosequi* the charge of murder against John Surratt and then indict him for conspiracy. Carrington thought he could obtain a conviction

[128] Rev. J. A. Walter, "The Surratt Case," *The Church News* (Aug. 16, 1891). "I rather think the mother is being tried again today," is a statement attributed to Joseph Bradley, Sr. See Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[129] E. Pierrepont to W. H. Seward, Wash., June 15, 16, 1867, in Seward Collection, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester. Also, *The Evening Star* June 15-18, 1867.

[130] *Surratt Trial*, II, 1379.

[131] *The Evening Star*, Aug. 10, 1867.

[132] "Order of Judge Fisher to Strike Bradley, Sr. from Rolls," Aug. 10, 1867, in *U. S. v. John H. Surratt*, No. 5920, National Archives.

[133] *Ibid.*, No. 6594; David Miller DeWitt, *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1909), p. 219.

by this method of procedure.[134] This charge was filed in court on June 18, 1868, and four days later Surratt was arraigned, pleading " not guilty." That same day he was released on $40,000 bail.[135] There was no action on Surratt's case that summer and the two motions to quash submitted to the court by Joseph Bradley, Jr., on July 10 and 15 were ignored.[136].

On September 22, John Surratt filed a special plea asking for a dismissal of his case on the grounds that he was included in the general pardon issued by President Johnson on July 4, 1868. Moreover, on the preceeding day Edward Carrington had entered a *nolle prosequi* regarding the case. The court announced its decision to dismiss the case on November 5, 1868.[137]

After this dismissal, John Surratt spent some time in Southern Maryland. On December 30 of either 1868 or 1869, he delivered a lecture at the Odd Fellows Hall on 7th Street between D and E Streets in Washington. This was described as a lecture on the " Plan Arranged to Kidnap not Murder President Lincoln." [138]

For a while, John was in the commission business and in 1870, he secured a job teaching in Rockville, Maryland. On December 6 of that year, he gave a lecture in the Rockville Courthouse. It began at 7:00 P.M. The Rockville Cornet Band played a lively tune and John took off his overcoat, revealing a " manuscript book " to which he referred occasionally during his lecture. He told of his association with John Wilkes Booth in the kidnapping attempts, described how he was in Elmira on the night of the assassination and then told the audience of his flight, capture and return to the United States. He talked for one and a quarter hours and when he finished, the band played " Dixie." An improvised concert followed during which Surratt " was quite a lion among the ladies present." [139]

Sometime between 1870 and 1872, Surratt left Rockville and secured an appointment as a teacher in Saint Joseph's School, Emmitsburg, Maryland. At that time the school was held in what

[134] *U. S.* v. *John H. Surratt*, No. 5920.

[135] This amount is given in the document entitled: " Recognizance, June 22, 1868," *ibid.* Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 288, gives the amount of bail as $25,000.

[136] *U. S.* v. *John H. Surratt*, No. 5920.

[137] " Special Plea, Certificate of Decision of General Term," in *ibid.*

[138] Broadsides Portfolio 205, No. 62, Rare Books Division, LC.

[139] *The Evening Star*, Dec. 7, 1870. The complete text of the lecture is printed here. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225, has the audience being bored by Surratt's lecture. *The Evening Star's* account mentions nothing about this.

was known as Firemen's Hall, located directly opposite Saint Joseph's Catholic Church. He rattled his classes and would resort to physical punishment to maintain discipline. On older boys, some of them twenty or twenty-one, he used his fists. The younger boys John would beat with a paddle after he had stretched them over a special punishment desk which he had designed. "The Old Bear," as the boys nicknamed him, swore at them in French when they overstepped the limits of his discipline.[140]

While he was at Emmitsburg, John Surratt liked to gather with the other men of the town at Gelwick's Drug Store where they would discuss politics and current events. Being a rather good shot, he also enjoyed target shooting with them.[141]

In 1872, John married Mary Victorine Hunter, a second cousin of Francis Scott Key. He moved to Baltimore and secured a position with the Old Bay Line where his brother Isaac was working.[142] John worked for this company for more than forty years until his retirement in August, 1915, at which time he had risen to the position of treasurer and auditor of the firm.

John Surratt never discussed his flight, capture and trial with his family and friends.[143] At one time he did write the story of his association with the conspirators at the insistence of his son, William. *McClure's Magazine* rejected the story, commenting that it was doubtful anyone would be interested in what he had to say, and John burned the manuscript.[144]

Early in March, 1916, John Surratt was stricken with pleurisy. When he had apparently recovered, he suffered a relapse and contracted pleuro-pneumonia. It was of this last illness that he died, at about 9:00 P.M. on Friday, April 21, 1916. The funeral was held on the following Monday from his home on 1004 West Lanvale Street in Baltimore. A Solemn High Requiem Mass was offered at Saint Pius' Church by the pastor, the Reverend John E. Dunn, and John Harrison Surratt was laid to rest in Bonnie Brae Cemetery.[145]

[140] Frederic Welty to T. E. Bussey, Philadelphia, November 23, 1938; Thomas E. Bussey, Memorandum, Baltimore, November 14, 1938. Both in the possession of Helen J. Campbell, Yorktown, Virginia.

[141] Bussey Memorandum, *ibid.*

[142] *Sun*, Apr. 22, 1916.

[143] Margaret Bearden informs me that he had 7 children, but only 3 daughters and a son survived infancy.

[144] Information supplied by Helen J. Campbell.

[145] *Sun*, Apr. 22, 1916.

SIDELIGHTS

THE DEPARTING CONFESSIONS OF THREE ROGUES, 1765

Edited by FRED SHELLEY

Accounts of crimes and confessions of condemned criminals were steady fare in colonial America. Occasionally, as in the one quoted below, we get a different view of earlier days in Maryland. One of three criminals, John Grimes, spent some weeks or months in Maryland before going north. The autobiographical account he gives throws sidelights on the problems of indentured servants and administration of justice in Maryland and the other colonies. It is from a broadside in the Library Company of Philadelphia printed probably in 1765. The full title of the broadside is *The Last Speech, Confession, Birth, Parentage and Education, of John Grimes, John Fagan, and John Johnson, alias Johnson Cochran, who were executed at Gallows-Hill, in the City of Burlington, on Wednesday the 28th of August, 1765, for Burglary and Felony, committed in the County of Burlington* (Evans 10036).

I John Grimes, aged Twenty-two Years, was born in the West of *Ireland,* in a small Village, of low, mean Parents, who had neither Ability nor Opportunity to give me any Education, so that from my Infancy I was brought up to Idleness and Thieving, which, instead of being corrected in me, was rather encouraged; at last I became so notorious, that I was obliged to leave that Part of the Country, and come to *Dublin,* and being bred to no Business, worked on board Ships at the Keys, but following my old Trade, I was dismissed from all Employment for Dishonesty and Thieving; I subsisted some Time in that City by joining a Gang of Street Robbers and Pick Pockets, but Justice overtaking them, and the Heads of the Gang being hanged, and others impeaching me, I was once more obliged to abscond, and from thence went over to *Liverpool,* but being known there, I travelled to *Bristol,* and from thence to *London,* following my Trade of Thieving all along; and there turning Foot Pad, and robbing a Gentleman at *Temple-Bar,* I was taken and committed to *Newgate,* and tried at the *Old-Bailey;* and as it was the first Crime I was known to be guilty of, I was cast for Transportation, and accordingly came over in the *Dolphin*, Capt. *Cramer*, to *Patapsco*, in *Maryland*, and was sold as a Servant to an Iron-Work, but I soon run away from them, and carried off with me as much Goods out of a Store I had broke open, as made me pass for a Pedlar, when I came into *New-Castle;* from *New Castle* I went to *New York,* where I associated with a Gang who for a long Time had

infested that City; but being obliged to leave that Place, I returned to *New-Castle,* where I pretended to be an *Irish* Pedlar newly come over; but I could not help following what was almost natural to me, but once more took to Thieving and House-breaking, and after performing several Exploits in that Way, I at last stole a Horse, for which I was apprehended, tried, and burnt in the Hand; while I lay in this Gaol, I could not resist the Temptation of Stealing, the Evil was so ingrafted in my wicked Heart; the Affair was this, a Man being in that Gaol, under Sentence of Death, the Sheriff procured a Person to execute him, and paid the Money before hand; but to secure the Fellow from running away before he had done the job, he put him in Gaol, where he had not lain long before I robb'd him of all his Money, which I spent idly: I lay a considerable Time in this Gaol, till a Gentleman from *Maryland,* upon my signing an Indenture to serve for some Time for the Fees, took me out, but instead of fulfilling my Engagement, I robbed the Gentleman of his Horse, and all he had about him, and again push'd for *New York.* In the Gaol at *New-Castle,* I had Information from a Prisoner who was well acquainted in *New-Jersey,* of the House of Joseph Burr, for the robbing of which I now suffer. In the City of *New-York* I first became acquainted with my unhappy Fellow-Sufferers, from the City we travelled in Company towards *West-Jersey,* and parted near *Mount-Holly,* when I went across *Delaware,* into *Pennsylvania,* and there stole the Watch of *Edward Hill,* and then returned into the *Jersies,* met my old Comrades, and with them planned and executed the aforesaid Robbery, we then stole Horses to carry us off, but getting drunk, we quarrelled in the Woods about dividing our Booty, when I was beat in so terrible a Manner that I was not able to make my Escape, and the other two going to sleep, during which Time the Country being alarmed, we were apprehended and brought to *Burlington,* and now are deservedly to suffer for this and our former Crimes. I die a Member of the *Roman* Catholic Communion, and in Peace and Charity with all Men, hoping GOD will pardon all my Sins and Offences, and forgive my Enemies.

I John Fagan, was born in the City of *Dublin,* in the Kingdom of *Ireland,* in the Year 1737, of poor but honest Parents, who brought me up in the Roman Catholic Religion, till I arrived at the Age of Fourteen, when I was put an Apprentice to a Joiner and House-Carpenter, with whom I lived between 4 and 5 Years, and falling into bad Company, I fell first from my Duty towards GOD, and then towards Man; for in a small Space of Time, Drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking and the Conversation of lewd and disorderly Women, became the fatal Objects of my Thoughts as well as Practice.

This Course of Life not answering my Purpose, and fearing the fatal Consequences that might attend my Stay, I thought it safest to embark for *America,* which I did in the Year 1756, where I had not been long till I engaged in his Majesty's Service, wherein I continued till the Troops were discharged, after which I engaged to Work at my Trade at the *Highlands* above *New-York,* where I wrought some Time, but my Inclinations still

hankering after lewd Company, I frequented bad Houses, in one of which I became acquainted with my unhappy Fellow-Sufferers; and after some short Acquaintance, we left *New-York* together, and travelled into *New-Jersey,* where we committed many Crimes, particularly robbing the House of *Joseph Burr,* near the City of *Burlington,* and the same Night with my Accomplices, stole three Horses, in Order to make our Escapes to *New-York,* but getting Drunk by the Way, we fell out, and was presently after apprehended, and brought to *Burlington* Gaol, where we were confined, and several Times attempted an Escape, but was prevented. *Good People,* Take Warning by my Fate, I am, you see a young Man, who by my Sins have shortened my Days, and brought myself to this shameful (but deserved) Death. Take heed to yourselves how you lead your Life. Live not as I have done, lest you come to the sad and untimely End I am now come to. Break not the Sabbath Day, and keep not Company with wicked Men, and lewd Women, as I have done. Those are the great Evils which have brought this Sorrow upon me. Avoid all Manner of Sin, even the smallest, for from one little Sin, Men easily fall to the Commission of greater ones. I die in the Faith of the *Roman* Catholick Profession, and I pray heartily to God to keep you from all Evil: And I beseech you to pray for me, that God would have Mercy upon my poor Soul.

I John Johnson, alias *Johnson Cochran,* was born in the City of *Dublin,* in the Kingdom of *Ireland,* of very good Parents, who brought me up to good Learning, in the Protestant Religion, and never did profess any other: I was put to School till I was 15 Years of Age; after which I was put an Apprentice to a Silver Smith, but having too good a Master and Mistress, I left them and got acquainted with many idle and wicked Men, and lewd Women, who led me into all Manner of Vice, particularly Shop-lifting: In breaking open the House of *Joseph Jennings,* in *Waterford,* I very narrowly escaped being taken as I was getting out at the Window, from whence I stole some Cash, Cloaths, and many other Articles; and then made off towards the North *Ireland.*

After having collected a considerable Booty by Means of such Villanies, I embarked on board of the Ship *King George,* Capt. *Mackie,* bound for *Philadelphia;* here I continued some Time, and not finding any Encouragement at my Trade, I betook myself to my former Way of Living, *viz*: Whoring, Drinking, and such like Vices; and getting acquainted with some lewd People, I fell to picking of Pockets, and stole many Pocket Books and Watches, to a considerable Value, but finding *Philadelphia* too hot to hold me, I removed to *New-York,* where I soon became acquainted with People of the same dishonest Profession as myself, and having good Encouragement, joined with a Company of them, and robbed several People in the Street, of Money and Effects and shared them amongst my Accomplices, after some Time I became acquainted with my Fellow-Sufferers, who were of the same Profession, and we all three agreed to travel together into *New-Jersey*; and our Inclination still leading us to Mischief, we made several Attempts on different Persons on the Highway,

and finding but little Encouragement, we moved farther into *West-Jersey,* where we followed the like Courses, but with little Success.

After which, from the Information of one of my Fellow-Sufferers, the House of *Joseph Burr* was thought worthy of our Attention, which Robbery we effected the 13th of *July,* at Night; then returned to the City of *Burlington,* and stole three Horses with a Design to make an Escape to *New-York,* but losing our Road, and getting Drunk and quarrelling, we were pursued and apprehended the 18th Day of the same Month, and committed to *Burlington* Gaol, and on the 20th Instant, took our Trials, and received Sentence of Death. To this I shall add, I heartily wish that the Number of Malefactors, may not encrease, but diminish; so I pray God to convert all those that abandon themselves to wicked and illegal Courses: I now die in the Faith of the Protestant Religion; and I pray God to have Mercy upon my Soul.

GUANO ISLANDS FOR SALE

LEONARD M. FANNING *

With all the selling and transferring of guano islands from discoverer to discoverer's assignee to *his* assignee *ad infinitum,* what was a United States guano island anyway? Was it a private title, a piece of real estate? In 1872, the Guano Island Act was amended to include a section enabling the "widow, heir, executor, or administrator of a discoverer, who dies before perfecting proof of discovery or fully complying with the provisions of the statute, to obtain the benefits of the discovery." The Act of 1856 had established "derelict" islands found by American citizens to contain guano, as islands "appertaining to the United States." Because of the "widow's clause," widows and other heirs of island discoverers—sometimes prompted by lawyers—wondered whether, after all, they did not have a claim to a guano island and the profits of the guano corporation exploiting, or supposed to be exploiting it.

On January 26, 1875, Captain Peter Duncan, master of the Navassa Phosphate Company's brig *Romance,* died. Isabella, his widow, found papers in his chest which revived memories of their early married life when Peter served old Captain E. O. Cooper and was master of the little schooner *Ocean Belle.* A faded copy of his Oath of Discovery to Navassa Island caught her eye. She remembered clearly, when they lived at 33 South Broad Street in Baltimore—after his return from taking the first laborers to the island—his making the affidavit. Less clear in her mind—as indeed they had been at that time—were the subsequent transactions between her husband and old Captain Cooper and his son, Captain E. K., by which Peter had conveyed his title or deed to Navassa Island to them. She seemed to recall that Peter had continued to own the island, or that it had been reconveyed to him, for a period shortly after the discovery

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* Copyright by author, 1957.

before he had finally deeded it over. Certain papers and notes among Peter's effects stirred questions about the transfer.

Peter had been a steady man. Never without a ship since the day they married, he had been master of the *Romance* from her commissioning in February, 1858. Year in and year out for seventeen years, the *Romance* had made the run between Baltimore and Navassa Island, West Indies, almost as regular as a ferry, with Peter in command. That was more than most American shipmasters could say, particularly since the war with only foreign ships in the harbors, it seemed, and American seamen idle ashore, drinking the time away and roistering and going to pot in waterfront taverns. Peter owed it all to the Coopers, and to the Navassa Phosphate Company. Then, too, Isabella had been thrifty. She thought no more of the deeds—not until eight years later when she became one of the widows who wondered whether she should not have inherited a guano island. Perhaps the idea came to her upon reading Captain E. K. Cooper's obituary in the Baltimore papers. She wrote the company for information about the transfer of Peter's deed as discoverer. The Company was evasive.

Eight more years passed during which time the *Romance* continued to bring in Navassa guano and the Navassa Phosphate Company, to make its "millions." Either Mrs. Duncan's dream of guano riches would not down and she went to see a lawyer, or it was the other way round. A lawyer came to see her and read her the "widow's clause" and convinced her that even though it had been inserted in the Act three years before her husband's death and thirteen years had elapsed since she had laid him away, it was not too late for her to sue. She should get her share of every dollar of Navassa Island guano sold since Peter raised the flag on the island September 19, 1857.

The matter hinged on the assignment. Did Peter ever really assign Navassa Island to E. K. Cooper? Under what circumstances was the assignment made, and was Peter properly compensated? She could remember no compensation. Peter simply found an island and deeded it over to the Coopers, and continued to be the captain of one of their ships. She remembered he was rewarded by the command of the *Romance*, but that was not "compensation." And why had the company evaded her questions? Now the lawyer wrote on behalf of Isabella Duncan and demanded the company produce the deeds. He got no farther than the widow had. In 1888 Isabella Duncan filed suit in the United States Circuit Court at Baltimore.

She asked for a dower in Navassa Island. She claimed Duncan was in possession September 19, 1857, to November 18, 1857, when he allegedly assigned or conveyed title and interest to E. K. Cooper and "by mesne assignments the title to said island became invested in the Navasa Phosphate Company." She averred there was a reconveyance to her husband about January 1, 1860, and subsequent conveyance to E. K. Cooper but "she has not said deeds of assignment, but believes them in possession of the Navassa Phosphate Company." She requested that they and all title deeds be produced. "By reason of legal and other impediments, and through no fault of hers, she has heretofore believed that a

demand for said dower rights would be fruitless." She demanded " an accounting of profits and net value to determine dower interest therein."

The company demurred.

On July 5, 1888, Judge Morris sustained the demurrer and dismissed the petition. He held that the Act of Congress of August 18, 1856 (the Guano Islands Act) " does not convey upon the discoverer a title to the land of the island such as will entitle the widow to dower therein as against a purchaser from him, although she has not joined in his assignment or executed a release." As to the nature of the right granted the discoverer under the Act, the judge held that " the right recognized in the discoverer and his assigns . . . is not a title as proprietor of the soil, but merely a commercial privilege, by which the enterprise of obtaining the guano discovered on such islands is protected so that it may be obtained for shipment to the United States, or elsewhere, if permitted."

An appeal was filed in the Supreme Court of the United States January 9, 1891. The decision of Judge Morris was affirmed January 19 of that year. Justice Gray, writing the opinion, stated, " It is impossible to find in this Act any manifestation of an intention of Congress that the interest of the discoverer should be subject to dower, or even that it should be considered as real estate rather than as personal property." Hence, people who " bought " a United States guano island were not getting title to real estate but, rather, a commercial privilege.

While he lived, there is no evidence that Duncan ever considered himself entitled to a share in Navassa Island. Isabella was simply indulging a widow's dream of guano treasure. The Guano Age might be on its way out, but heirs of assignees and die-hard stockholders (with worthless guano company securities in their attic trunks), could not down that spark of hope, until it was extinguished by the court decision in the case of Mrs. Duncan.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Albert Gallatin, Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat. By Raymond Walters, Jr. New York: Macmillan, 1957. viii, 461 pp. $7.

The author of this book hoped that "a full and scholarly biography" would increase our understanding of the period of our history which Gallatin influenced. He has succeeded admirably in producing a scholarly and definitive book. He has also given us a delightfully interesting view of Gallatin and his times. The book is crowded with factual details, so well arranged that they do not obscure the thread of the narrative, in fact they make it more vivid, a rare achievement in this field. It is a pity that the publisher yielded to the current urge to collect the foot-notes at the end of the book. If they had been at the bottom of the pages of the text, the curiosity of the professional historian could have been satisfied more conveniently.

In the course of his study of Gallatin, the author made a remarkable discovery. For over forty years historians and others, both in the United States and in Gallatin's native Switzerland, have used the diary of Gallatin's son James (Count Gallatin [great grandson], ed., *The Diary of James Gallatin* [London, New York, 1914]) as a source for Gallatin's diplomatic activities. Two years ago, this reviewer found that in Geneva a French translation of it was being used as an authoritative source for tracing the activities of Madame de Staël and her circle. Some scholars had been worried about discrepancies they had noticed, but it remained for Raymond Walters to reveal the reason: the diary was a "complete hoax." For the historian, especially the diplomatic historian, this one discovery would make the whole biographical study worth while. (See also article in *AHR*, July, 1957, pp. 878-885.) In addition, however, we have the first life of a very important statesman told in a book which combines accurate scholarship with good literary style and readability.

Among his very wide list of acquaintances and friends, Gallatin numbered many of the well-to-do merchants of early nineteenth-century Maryland. His son married the daughter of a French refugee who settled in Baltimore. The interest of Marylanders in Walters' book is increased by the frequent references to his relations with people of this state.

Dorothy Mackay Quynn

Frederick, Md.

The Frontier Mind, A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman. By ARTHUR K. MOORE. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. x, 264 pp. $5.

The civilization that flowered in the Kentucky wilderness surpassed that on any other tramontane frontier. The contrast is striking enough to provoke the question, Why did these frontiersmen, living in their rustic castles, called "stations," and engaging in a bloody and obstinate battle with the Indians, excel so quickly in the difficult arts of civilization? One theory would account for this superior civilization by the number and quality of the "culture bearers"—see, for example, Louis B. Wright's *Culture on the Moving Frontier*—and another might resemble Toynbee's "growth stage" of differentiation and diversity. The author of *The Frontier Mind,* however, is much less impressed with this early flowering than he is with its failure to live up to its promise. As a matter of fact, he finds in this "cultural analysis of the Kentucky frontiersman" the seeds of the anti-intellectualism, the provincialism, and the isolationism of the American West.

The theme is not entirely original. Henry Nash Smith in his *Virgin Land,* an excellent study of the American West as symbol and myth, has pointed out how the agrarian tradition has paired the contradictory ideas of nature and civilization. By concentrating on the Kentucky frontiersman, Professor Moore attempts to show how the experience of settling a Garden has left a residue of primitivism in the American character.

From the great diversity of elements in the early Kentucky civilization, the author has selected the meanly picaresque as the typical and enduring. In a chapter entitled "The Rejection of Athens" he shows how the civilization that began in Lexington succumbed, not to the enormity of frontier barbarism, but rather to a preference for the book of nature; and the results have been extremely influential on the course of American history:

> Kentucky saw it all—the hungering pilgrims descending like locusts upon the fabled garden, there to rend and devour nature's bounty; the hopeful planning of apostles of the Enlightment and the blighting of their fair programs; the legendary frontiersman, embodiment of several kinds of romantic desiring, turning an alligator horse and confronting the metropolis with the image of its own dark unconscious mind. Out of the garden came abundance without fulfillment, religious fanaticism without religious unity, the profession of equalitarianism and lusting after class distinctions, envy of superior merit and rank anti-intellectualism. Men sought to live, as they had journeyed, by the garden myth, and accomplished works consistent with their materialism and secularism.

In reaching his conclusions the author has been honest, if not entirely convincing. No malice is apparent, no bias, and a minimum of special

pleading. However, he may be taking the words of the frontiersmen too seriously, and he may be somewhat taken in by their exaggeration. It is true that many of the virtues they extolled were not those of modern suburbia, and there are intelligent Kentuckians today who like to think that a clergyman or Congressman need not be literate to be successful. But in the main the Kentucky culture seems to have followed the broad middle class current, with eddies of both primitivism and aristocratic ways.

The Kentucky frontier had more than its share of men of wealth and culture—Henry Clay, George Nicholas, Caleb Wallace, Matthew Walton, the Bullitts, the Breckinridges, and the Todds. Fortunately, too, it had its woodsmen and its warriors. Daniel Boone killed only one Indian, but his skill as a woodsman and his relaxed manner gave the colonists courage. John Filson made him famous as the " natural hero " and certainly no one wishes to pull the amiable Daniel from his niche in the pantheon of American heroes. But he had little, and wanted less, to say about the conduct of affairs in the colony. Simon Kenton was incredibly tough, brave, and audacious; and his words with the Indians were bullets. The warriors deserved and got respect, but most of them probably thought longingly of the time when they could settle down in civilized communities.

The Old Frontier was shot through with paradoxes. To assess its influence on the course of American history is a difficult and complicated business. Professor Moore's book stands as another rejection of the now somewhat battered Turner thesis, but it, too, is probably an over simplification. Romantic and horrible, heroic and mean, culturally brash and pridefully illiterate, the frontier drew to it all sorts and conditions of men; and their motives were those of all men: escape from the *taedium vitae,* economic betterment, adventure, and the ancient dream of an earthly paradise. Its myths endure. To what extent America has tried to live by them is still a question.

JOHN WALTON

The Johns Hopkins University

The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89. By EDMUND S. MORGAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. ix, 157 pp. $3.

In this small volume in the *Chicago History of American Civilization* Professor Morgan of Yale interprets the history of the American Revolution in terms of a " search for principles." He sees the colonists as having begun their search in 1765, when the Stamp Act Congress assembled in New York to deny the authority of Parliament to tax an unrepresented people. Not that that people sought representation: a small number of delegates from the colonies would have had little influence in Parliament. The intent of the " great majority " was rather to distinguish between Parliament's admitted right to legislate and its usurpation of the right of the colonial assemblies to levy taxes. Parliament responded with derision to this distinction between legislation and taxation.

By 1774, after the Tea Act, the Coercive Acts, and other provocations had led the colonists to re-examine their position within the empire, they were ready to turn Parliament's response to their own advantage. They denied Parliament's right to tax them. Parliament maintained that the powers of taxation and legislation were inseparable. Very well: Parliament had then no power of legislation! And if this were so, it followed that the colonial assembly had powers of legislation equal to those of Parliament. From the position of institutional and national equality the colonists advanced, under the tutelage of Locke (via Tom Paine), to the position of human equality reflected in the ringing passages of the Declaration of Independence. But the search for principles was not yet ended. It continued throughout the years of fighting and culminated in the adoption of the federal Constitution. It had been, in Morgan's view, "a noble search, a daring search, and by almost any standards a successful" one.

It is unnecessary to observe that the elevated thesis of this widely-praised book rests on a solid substructure of scholarship. For these reasons, and also because of the fine clarity with which the author has achieved a difficult task of compression, I regret to observe that the work is marred by inconsistency and partisanship. Consider the crucial question whether or not the colonies were in real danger of French or Indian attack following the British victory over these nations in 1763. If the danger was an actual one, then the British, whose public debt and domestic tax level had risen to unprecedented heights during the war, were justified in calling upon the colonies after 1763 to contribute to the cost of their own protection. Most historians today agree on the reality of the danger and the justness of the British call (see the editors' introduction to L. H. Gipson's *Coming of the Revolution*). Morgan turns his back upon this agreement, but not entirely upon some of the evidence on which it rests. For while in one place (p. 44) he denies a French peril, he affirms it in another (p. 83): "Ever since the peace of 1763 she [France] had been waiting for opportunities of revenge against Britain. . . ."

Morgan seems to me to display partisanship in his treatment of the efforts of Grenville and North to overcome the colonists' hostility to British taxation. Both suggested that the colonies tax themselves, the North proposal being ratified by Parliament itself. Surely it is inadequate to characterize North's effort as a "gesture . . . vague and undefined" (p. 69) and Grenville's as "only a rhetorical gesture, since he never made known how much he wished each colony to raise" (p. 19). If the colonies opposed taxation without representation on grounds of principle should not one expect them to have explored these opportunities to tax themselves?

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the colonists were in search not of principles but of rationalizations for their unwillingness to pay taxes. If this is not so why did the colonists pay duties on tea and molasses during the period 1770-73? The answer is very probably, as Morgan suggests, that they submitted during these years to taxation without representation because the years were prosperous ones and because the imposts were far fewer and far less burdensome than those they had previously been asked to pay. We may therefore continue to regard them as animated by principle only

if, as Morgan does, we adopt a quantitative view of principle. But I must confess myself unpersuaded by this thesis, more especially because of its tendency to find expression in terms of British black and colonial white, with insufficient shading.

STUART BRUCHEY

Northwestern University

So Fell the Angels. By THOMAS G. and MARVA R. BELDEN. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956. 401 pp. $5.

Salmon Portland Chase's insatiable lust for the Presidency is a familiar story in American political history. As Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, he is inevitably cast as the villain in the drama, or melodrama, of the wartime cabinet—a devious politician conniving to unseat the man who brought him to power. Similarly, Chase's beautiful daughter, Kate, has been a favorite subject for historians. From the moment she came to Washington in 1861 at the age of twenty to serve as hostess for her widowed father, Kate schemed to put him in the White House and make herself first lady of the land. Her grand design included marriage to the millionnaire governor of Rhode Island and later United States Senator, William Sprague. Her reckless ambition brought her the leadership of Capital society, but this same recklessness left her at the age of fifty selling vegetables and delivering eggs in back streets of Washington.

Ambition is the tragic flaw of each of the three protagonists in Thomas G. and Marva R. Belden's *So Fell the Angels*. The authors have essayed a three-faceted biography of Salmon P. Chase, his daughter, and her husband, but it is the strongminded, magnetic Kate who dominates this splendid study. The authors speak of her again and again in superlatives. Kate was "the most brilliant woman who had ever entered the American political scene"; "the nation's most powerful political hostess"; "the most powerful woman in the United States." So impressively have the Beldens marshalled their evidence and so skillfully have they told their story, that the reader is persuaded to agree.

The portraits of the two men, however, are rather less convincing. Salmon P. Chase was a man of contradictions. The authors delineate with keen insight the self-hypnotized Chase, the man who was a coward and a knave, and the man who on the subject of the Presidency was, Lincoln thought, "a little insane." Another side of Chase's character, the statesman Lincoln believed worthy to be named Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court and who, when appointed, honored the office, is less clearly realized. The reader wonders, also, what inner resources of strength such an apparently witless man as William Sprague drew on to survive domestic scandal and political catastrophe until 1915, the last of the Civil War governors.

Although the picture of Kate Chase Sprague and her world in *So Fell the Angels* does not differ substantially from Ishbel Ross's *Proud Kate*

(1953), the Beldens have written a more vividly detailed and fully documented biography.

CHARLES H. BOHNER

University of Delaware

American Fiction, 1851-1875: A Contribution toward a Bibliography. By LYLE H. WRIGHT. San Marino, Cal.: The Huntington Library, 1957. xx, 413 pp. $7.50.

It is not given to many authors to know that their next work will automatically become a "landmark." Mr. Wright, head of the Reference Department at the Huntington Library, is such a fortunate fellow. His last book, to which this is the successor, *American Fiction . . . 1774-1850* (1939, revised 1948), was at once acclaimed an indispensable reference work, and he must have suspected that such would be the glorious future of this one. All he had to do was exercise infinite patience, infinitesimal scrupulousness, and inordinate curiosity. Happily this is just what he did. As the result social historians—and anyone seriously concerned with the annals of American culture—will fall upon this new book with sharp little cries of delight.

Where the earlier bibliography, as revised, offers 2,772 numbered titles over a 106-year period, the present one offers 2,832 for not quite a quarter century. (This sharp upsurge in publishing activity probably accounts for the absence of that most useful feature of the first volume, a Chronological Index.) This was the period when there appeared on the literary scene such best sellers as *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Gates Ajar,* or *St. Elmo*; reams of trash by Maturin M. Ballou, George Thompson, or Henry Llewellyn Williams; and, occasionally, some good writing by people like Constance Fenimore Woolson, Theodore Winthrop, or John W. deForest. They are all here, alphabetically by author (694 men, 499 women), with a repository from among eighteen holding libraries for each item located, and a Title Index that takes care of everyone including that sturdy beggar, Anon. One thing Mr. Wright does not supply: a Topical Index. Though he could not fairly be expected to do so, it is a regrettable omission. He does, however —where his titles are unrevealing—append a phrase or so of description; and as the result what a pantechnicon of American life is thrown open to our view! We see Civil War novels and slavery novels; political novels and criminal confessions; anti-Catholic and pro-Mormon novels; novels about Americans in Australia, Chile, Egypt, Germany, and (especially) Italy; novels about women's rights in general or Lowell factory girls in particular; novels on the westward movement, temperance, or Biblical themes; about life at Yale, Harvard, the White Sulphur Springs, or Van Diemen's Land. And of course there are oddities: an allegorical romance about the Civil War written in phonetic spelling (no. 54), or just about the high cost of living during the War (2235); novels praising the virtues

of perfume (556), insurance (2801), or free love (872); even novels warning against incest (2731) or worrying about lesbianism (2413).

These indicia to American popular taste, or the lack thereof, were published in all of the probable cities and in some which are highly improbable, such as Richmond, Indiana, or Rouse's Point, New York. There are also some published in Baltimore. Because Mr. Wright does not give us that Topical Index, this reviewer believes that a listing of all the Maryland items which caught his eye may perhaps be useful. The following fifteen items refer to fiction published under a Baltimore imprint: nos. 371a, 759, 763, 1082, 1361, 1653, 1679, 1696, 1706, 1707, 1793, 2204, 2271, 2459, and 2789. The following ten items have Baltimore and at least one other city on their title pages: nos. 208, 315, 330, 442, 443, 463, 1551, 1573, 1648, and 1708. The following dozen items, not necessarily with Baltimore imprint, are laid partly or wholly in either Baltimore or Maryland: (no. 403) Meshach Browning, *Forty-Four Years of the Life of a Hunter*; (419) Josephine M. Bunkley (pseud.?), *The Testimony of an Escaped Novice from the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, Emmettsburg* [*sic*]; (759) Edwin H. Docwra, *The Devil's Race Course;* (910) Mrs. May Agnes Early Fleming, *Erminie; or, The Gypsy's Vow;* (923) Miriam Fletcher, *The Methodist;* (1177) anon., *The Hermit of the Chesapeake;* (1304) James Hungerford, *The Old Plantation;* (1603) Emily E. J. McAlpine, *Doings in Maryland;* (2183) Mrs. Anne Moncure Crane Seemüller, *Emily Chester: A Novel;* (2346) Harvey Stanley, *Pilate and Herod;* (2437) anon., *Ten Years of Torture; or, Sutten's Death-Bed Confession;* and (2459) Frederick W. Thomas, *An Autobiography of William Russell.*

In describing the Hungerford masterpiece our bibliographer asserts that the action occurs in "Eastern Maryland in the 1830's"—at which point some marginalia become mandatory. Over here in the Free State, Mr. Wright, we have really only two directions. We have a Southern Maryland (better if you capitalize that adjective), and we also have a western Maryland. That we have a northern Maryland is remotely conceivable, and may be admitted for geographical purposes. But "Eastern Maryland" is an out-and-out monstrosity which you must have jerked forth, bellowing, from some bestiary in your Medieval Section. We think you mean "the Eastern Shore," and from that point of reference there is only one direction, *viz.,* off. Either you live down on the Eastern Shore or you live off it, but you never, never live in "Eastern Maryland." Other than this lamentable lapse—which we trust will be corrected in his Revised Edition —Mr. Wright is definitely the Mr. Right of American fictional bibliography. His book is worth every penny of its price.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore

Diary of Titian Ramsay Peale. Edited by CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY, with an introduction and bibliography by CARL S. DENTZEL. Early California Travel Series XXXVI. Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1957.

This attractive booklet reprints the diary of Titian Ramsay Peale, the versatile youngest son of Charles Willson Peale, from September 22 to November 1, 1841. During the years 1838 to 1842 the author was attached, as its principal artist, to the United States Exploring Expedition to the South Sea and Northwest Coast of the United States. The period covered by the diary is that between the wreck of the *Peacock* in the mouth of the Columbia River and the author's sailing from San Francisco on the *Vincennes*. It pleasantly describes the journey of the members of the Expedition from Oregon to San Francisco.

The lengthy introduction (25 pages against only 42 pages for the entire Diary) giving the life of Peale and the background and accomplishments of the Expedition, is perhaps more interesting than what it introduces. The Diary is embellished with reprints of illustrations from the Narrative of the Expedition by Charles Wilkes, published in 1845, and by other contemporary prints or watercolors, those on the covers being taken from natural history illustrations by the author, and a view of the Rockies reproduced in color, being also by him. His portrait, believed to be by his father, Charles Willson Peale, of which the plate was supplied by the Maryland Historical Society, shows an attractive young man of whom it is easy to believe what the commander of the Expedition said of him, that he "is very proud . . . and is difficult to manage." He was born in Philadelphia on November 17, 1799, and followed the standard Peale career of painting, usually in connection with the publication of natural history books. He also acted as a curator and ultimately manager of his father's museum. After its sale he spent the remainder of the active part of his life as an examiner in the Patent Office in Washington.

DOUGLAS GORDON

Baltimore

The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860. By GEORGE C. GROCE and DAVID H. WALLACE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. xxvii, 759 pp. $15.

There can be scarcely any serious student of American art who has not had occasion, during the past decade, to consult Dr. George C. Groce in Washington, for in Dr. Groce's massive files was growing the largest and most trustworthy compendium of biographical information on American artists that has ever existed. All of us who have had to impose upon Dr. Groce personally have been looking forward with him to the day when

his monumental task would reach that sort of completion—such a job is never truly finished, as Dr. Groce is the first to know—represented by publication. At long last, the day has come, and the book has appeared in suitably handsome format; there is not a research scholar, antiquarian, curator, collector or dealer who will not be consulting it many times a week.

The need for such a volume has existed for years now, for research has been adding rapidly to the information included in the invaluable compendia of Smith and of Mantle Fielding. The story of the creation of the present book, therefore, is not without a certain interest.

The work had its genesis in 1940, with Groce's publication of *1440 Early American Portrait Artists,* a well-documented biographical compendium assembled under the aegis of the New Jersey Historical Records Survey of the W. P. A. (it is curious to note that only now, as in the case of the Index of American Design, are we feeling the full benefits of the less publicized, more serious historical enterprises of the much-maligned —often deservedly so—W. P. A.). In 1941 Dr. Groce, under further W. P. A. auspices, expanded his lists to include some 3,000 portrait artists in all; with the demise of his sponsoring organization, and the war, his manuscript was turned over to the New-York Historical Society for editing and publication.

After the war, Dr. Groce and Charles E. Baker, Editor of the Society, decided to expand the work to include artists other than portraitists, so that the present volume covers all recorded American painters, engravers, lithographers, draftsmen, amateur sketchers, silhouette-cutters, sculptors, wax-modelers, figurehead-carvers, cameo-cutters, seal-cutters, and medalists, as well as some names only identified as "artist" in contemporary directories. Discrimination in this matter was arduous, as the authors point out, since some of those so identified were proven to be "musicians, actors, and photographers, and, it is suspected, even prostitutes." Where such "artists" can be shown, through other evidence, to be inadmissible, their names have been omitted; otherwise, for safety's sake, they are included.

The final stage of completion of the book began in 1952, when David H. Wallace, Assistant Editor of the Society, assumed the demanding task of putting together the massive documentation. The final result is a credit to all the many individuals concerned, as researchers, editors, and writers, as well as the hundreds of institutions and individuals who supplied data. The *Dictionary,* as it stands, contains between ten and eleven thousand entries, some seven times the total previously available. Already the results for our knowledge of American art of this coordination of information begin to be evident.

The book's usefulness is, of course, primarily in its biographical listings, together with the keyed source list (in itself an unprecedented bibliography of American art research from the biographical standpoint); but no one can afford to overlook the lucid and utterly objective Introduction, which gives an explanation of the scope of the *Dictionary*; a splendid analysis of the sources used; and a brief but stimulating section on the "Use of the Dictionary" which has already sent this reviewer off on several profitable forays.

It is rarely that one can point to such a thoroughly satisfactory completion of so complex an enterprise—an enterprise which often must have seemed a thankless and endless one—but such is the case with this *Dictionary*. We have only one thing to add: while appreciating that reasons of volume alone were enough to demand the limiting dates of *this* book, when can we hope to see the sequel which will carry on the splendid work, at least to the year 1900?

JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE

The Baltimore Museum of Art

Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1819. By STUART WEEMS BRUCHEY. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series LXXIV, no. 1, 1956. 411 pp. $5.

The life of Robert Oliver would have been an inspiration to Horatio Alger. Arriving in Baltimore in 1783, a penniless Irish immigrant, Oliver died a wealthy and influential citizen, ranked with Alexander Brown and William Patterson as one of the "royal merchants of Baltimore." He began his commercial career as a small-scale commission merchant, ended it as part of a successful scheme to empty the Mexican Treasury of its gold, and meanwhile became, literally, a millionaire—no mean achievement in 1809.

Mr. Bruchey's first sentence, "This is the story of a man's business," indicates the emphasis and purpose of this book. It is a meticulous account of the way in which a Baltimore merchant conducted his business and made his fortune, based primarily on twenty-seven volumes of Oliver's business records in the Maryland Historical Society. The significance of this study is two-fold. It makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of American commercial operations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also demonstrates how American merchants survived and prospered in a particularly uncertain economic period.

The author presents Oliver's career largely in terms of the three partnerships through which he worked from 1783 to 1809. Although information on the first, Oliver & Simm, which lasted from 1783 to 1785, is scanty, the firm prospered sufficiently to leave Oliver with £1,000 to invest in his next partnership with another Irish immigrant, Hugh Thompson.

The first years of Oliver & Thompson, during the general postwar economic slump, were not easy. Diversifying their interests, they concentrated on commission work, while investing in insurance and shipping, and exporting some goods on their own account when profits beckoned. In 1789, earnings were divided and Oliver received £3,336. Seven years later when the partnership was dissolved, division of earnings ultimately brought Oliver £60,000 or almost $160,000—a jump in profits that reflected the opportunities presented to neutral American merchants by the outbreak of

war in Europe in 1793. For Oliver & Thompson these opportunities centered in the West Indies where Britain and France, unable to supply their colonies, opened ports closed to American shipping since the Revolution. Threading their way between French and English shipping regulations with luck, bribery, false papers, and occasional seizures, Oliver & Thompson specialized in importing coffee from French Santo Domingo, which they re-exported with obvious profit, to Europe.

In 1796 Robert Oliver joined two brothers in a third partnership. Their first years, coinciding with a depression in American trade caused by the threat of war with France and the conclusion of peace in Europe, were relatively lean. As soon as war resumed in 1803, however, they re-entered the West Indian coffee trade, and in the next two years made a profit of approximately $185,000.

Large as this sum might seem, it soon paled beside the returns from their next and most spectacular trading venture. In 1805 the Olivers obtained one of the licences issued by Spain allowing neutrals to trade with her South American colonies, and they began sending goods regularly to Vera Cruz. The following year this trade brought Oliver into an audacious project in international finance. An agreement between Napoleon and the King of Spain enabled the French banker Ouvrard, acting with other European financial interests, to monopolize all commerce with the Spanish American colonies and to remove the Spanish gold and silver stored in Mexico. To get this specie to Europe in the normal channels of trade it was decided to convert it into American owned goods; at this point Oliver entered the plan. The details of his role are too complicated to relate here, and make too good a story to spoil by compression. Suffice it to say that in 1808, after eighteen months, the Olivers had made $775,000, with which sum they were content to retire from active trade the following year.

The general reader may suspect, but only those who have worked with business records can fully appreciate, the energy and care with which Mr. Bruchey has tackled the Oliver papers and the skill with which he has analysed and presented their contents. Much of the author's success in reconstructing Oliver's career is due to his knowledge of early nineteenth century bookkeeping which enabled him to compile the statistics that are vital to this kind of study but frequently impossible to obtain. The discussions of bookkeeping techniques may occasionally seem too detailed to some readers, but they are of great value for students of business history.

One of the most interesting facets of this study is Mr. Bruchey's emphasis on the reasons behind Robert Oliver's business decisions. Oliver was a cautious man, but he made his fortune by changing the scope and nature of his trading operations to fit changing circumstances. What lay behind his decisions in this area? The attempt to answer this question leads the author throughout the book first, to consider the influence of Oliver's family and business associates at home and abroad who provided information, advice, and sometimes capital for his ventures; and second,

to analyse the effect of broad economic developments in Baltimore, the United States, and Europe.

In view of the larger backdrop against which Oliver's business is thus constantly seen it is regrettable that the author in his final analysis summarized Oliver's activities and ethics in terms of the resident merchant of earlier centuries. If such a summary were needed, a comparison with other British and American merchants engaged in foreign trade during the same period would have been far more meaningful.

This reviewer had two regrets on finishing *Robert Oliver*. The first was that Oliver the man remained so shadowy a figure—a fact that may have been unavoidable due to the scarcity of personal material available. The second was that the study ended with Oliver's withdrawal from trade in 1809. Although it was not the author's intent to go beyond Oliver's active career in foreign trade, it would be interesting and valuable to know how he used his fortune from 1809 to his death in 1834. We may hope that in the future Mr. Bruchey will provide the answer to this question.

RHODA M. DORSEY

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Archives of Maryland, Volume LXVII. Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1677-1678. Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1956. xxxv, 497 pp. $5, members $3.

As the writer of a recent review article on "The Publication of the Official Records of the Southern Colonies" (Jack P. Greene in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* April, 1957) has pointed out,

> One of the most impressive publication records belongs to Maryland, the first of the southern states to launch a comprehensive program for the printing of its official colonial records. In 1882 the state legislature provided means and authority for the Maryland Historical Society to print the state's early records. Accordingly, the first volume of the *Archives of Maryland* appeared in the following year. In the seventy-five years since that date, under the successive editorships of William Hand Browne, Clayton C. Hall, Bernard C. Steiner, J. Hall Pleasants, Raphael Semmes, and Elizabeth Merritt, sixty-six volumes have been produced, a sixty-seventh is nearing completion, and a sixty-eighth is in preparation. . . . The whole series, particularly after the first few volumes, is marked by sound editing, a literal reproduction of the manuscript page, and a thorough job of indexing. It is doubtful if the published records of any other southern state excel those of Maryland either in quantity or quality.

This volume, the sixty-seventh in the *Archives of Maryland* series, will be the last to bear the signature of the late J. Hall Pleasants, who edited this series from 1929 to 1944 and who from that time until his death in August, 1957, served as chairman of the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society. As the fourth of the six editors of the *Archives* and later as chairman of the Publications Committee, Dr. Pleasants for more than a quarter of a century contributed greatly to the steady production and high standards of the *Archives of Maryland*. He will be missed.

The present volume is the twelfth in the sub-series devoted to the records of the Provincial Court and the third in that group to be edited by Dr. Elizabeth Merritt. Aside from prefatory matter, a table of cases, and a comprehensive index, this volume consists of a twenty-five page introduction and a literal transcription in 457 printed pages of some 367 pages of the original manuscript proceedings of the Provincial Court between June 19, 1677, and June 18, 1678. In this one year period the court met six times but proceeded to business on only five occasions. Bad weather in December, 1677, prevented the attendance of a sufficient number of justices to make a court.

Because of the restricted period of time involved and perhaps even more because of the increasingly formal procedure of the Provincial Court, the important cases and colorful goings-on often recorded in some of the earlier volumes of Provincial Court Proceedings are lacking in this volume. Heinous crimes were also conspicuous by their absence, and the only criminal case which came to trial, an information against a sheriff for taking exorbitant fees, terminated in an acquittal. The time of the court was taken up with a variety of civil actions, predominantly suits for the recovery of debts but including such diverse matters as the treatment of indentured servants and the ownership of a feather bed. The editor has made judicious comments on a number of these cases, but as she has so wisely stated in her introduction, " Not all of the cases which have in them something of interest can be commented on here, or the introduction would be as long as the text."

Many of the hundreds of civil cases on the docket in this year never came to trial at all, and others were continued from court to court and finally beyond the date of this volume. Of those cases which were heard and decided, a great number were actions for the recovery of bonded debts. It would be easy to discount the value of publishing *in extenso* the formal records of a court in which so many cases never came to trial and in which so many of those that did involved simply the recovery of so many pounds of " good bright & large aronoco tobacco." It would be easy, but it would also be a mistake. Only a historian of the Provincial Court itself could be expected to work through the manuscript from which this volume has been printed; for almost every other student, publication is the only satisfactory way to make this valuable source available.

In spite of the increasingly formal procedure of the Court and language of the pleadings, this volume will interest the historian of almost every aspect of seventeenth century Maryland. The legal historian, of course,

will be grateful for a further prolongation of what is already the longest continuous series of published records for the superior court in any of the thirteen colonies; and he will find throughout this volume new or interesting data on the development of the law in Maryland. The political historian will pick up faint echoes here of the Indian troubles and domestic unrest (related to Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia) which disturbed the peace of Maryland in 1675 and 1676. The sheriff of Calvert County, for example, petitioned for reimbursement of the costs of ". . . executeing Severall Speciall writts and warrants upon the Insurrectors at the Clifts . . ." (pp. 96-97); and in April, 1678, the Court determined the damages suffered by the Lord Proprietary from the concealment of ". . . divers goods & Chattels formerly belonging to Wm Davis deceased who was convicted attainted & executed for feloniously raising warr insurreccon & rebellion agt his Lordpp . . ." (p. 248). The administrative historian will be reminded that the Provincial Court, like the county courts, fulfilled executive and administrative as well as judicial functions. On April 11, 1678, the justices of the Provincial Court ordered the justices of the peace for St. Mary's and Charles counties to agree on repairing the highway at a mill " att the head of Wiccommico river betwixt St Maryes & Charles County," and on the same day, the justices of the Provincial Court, as members of the Council, told the Emperor of the Nanticokes (with whom there had been some trouble shortly before) ". . . that he might plant corne and eat his bread in peace & quietnesse Provided that he observe & keepe the last Articles of peace and amity concluded upon with Col Wm Burges " (pp. 247, 248).

Social and economic historians, however, will perhaps make more use of these court records than anyone else. One scholar has recently used the records of the Provincial Court for an article on social status and mobility in seventeenth-century Maryland, and as the articles of V. J. Wyckoff have shown, these records can provide a great deal of information for the economic historian. Here, for example, is evidence of the value of tobacco in 1677 (p. 36), of the commission customarily allowed for collecting tobacco debts (pp. 71, 76), and of the freight charges on shipping tobacco to England in 1667 (p. 404). On almost every page is overwhelming proof that tobacco was not only the usual medium of payment but also the most frequent measure of costs and values. The awkwardness of tobacco as a medium of payment and the great scarcity of coin in Maryland at this time perhaps go far to account for the prevalence both of credit dealings and of the litigation between debtors and creditors which fills so much of this volume.

Having barely suggested the riches to be found in this sixty-seventh volume of the *Archives,* the reviewer refers the curious and the studious to the record itself and commends the editor and the printers for the faithful accomplishment of a most exacting task.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

Colonial Williamsburg

NOTES AND QUERIES

Rodgers—Likenesses of Col. and Mrs. John Rodgers, parents of Commodore John Rodgers of War of 1812 fame, are being sought by Friends of Rodgers' Tavern, an organization devoted to the restoration of Rodgers' Tavern, where the Colonel was frequently host to Washington and operated the Lower Susquehanna Ferry at what is now Perryville. Suitable portraits are needed for the Tavern. Rodgers, often referred to as "Captain," organized in 1775 the 5th Company of militia in "the flying corps" which marched north to help Washington at the beginning of the Revolution. Rodgers moved from Harford County to Cecil about 1780 where he lived until his death in 1794. Information may be sent to the society at Perryville, Md.

Thackara—I request information of any manuscript, art object or other material of the Thackara brothers: James (engraver), William, Jr. (master plasterer), or Samuel (sea captain and ship chandler). They lived in Philadelphia in the period 1770-1840. William, Jr., was plasterer for many of the buildings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe and William Strickland. I am also completing a genealogy of the Thackara Family and would appreciate word from any possible descendents in the Maryland area.

Robert Donald Crompton,
Glenside, Pa.

Griffin—I want the name of Rachel, wife of Philip Griffin of Baltimore County and Baltimore, married about 1775. Presumably this is the same Philip Griffin who married (2) Eleanor McMullin, Sept. 10, 1805, at the First M. E. Church, Baltimore.

Robert Griffin Smith,
487 Union Ave., Laconia, N. H.

Hawkins—Smith—Hamilton—Scott—Information on the Hawkins family and descendants would be appreciated. Also I desire the parents' names of Col. John Smith of Calvert Co., Md., who died Oct. 5, 1759, and whose will was probated in 1759. He is no doubt descended from Richard Smith. The crest on the old family silver is a hand holding a quill, above a helmet esquire. Information is also desired on ancestry of Dr. John Hamilton and Mary Scott.

Mrs. Edgar Hull,
1423 First St., New Orleans 13, La.

CONTRIBUTORS

JERRY E. PATTERSON is a researcher for the U. S. Department of Justice and is completing a doctoral degree at Harvard University. He has served as an assistant editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and as a consultant in Hispanic Manuscripts at the Library of Congress.

FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN, Professor of American History at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., is author of *Lancaster County Since 1841, The Spiritual and Educational Background of Franklin and Marshall College*, and numerous articles. He owns Union Mills jointly with his brothers, Philip S. Klein, Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University, and Richard H. Klein, Attorney.

GEORGE E. GIFFORD, JR., M. D., U. S. Naval Hospital, Oakland, California, contributed an article, "Melville in Baltimore," to the September, 1956, issue of the *Magazine*. He is interested in the connection between major literary figures and Maryland.

ALFRED ISACSSON, O. CARM., is studying theology at Whitefriars Hall, Carmelite Fathers, Washington, D. C., where he is also an assistant librarian. The present article was based upon his master's thesis at Saint Bonaventure University.

FRED SHELLEY, former editor of the Magazine (1950-55) and author of numerous articles, is at present Librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society. His most recent publication is a *Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society* (1957).

LEONARD M. FANNING has been public relations director of the American Petroleum Institute, Secretary to the National Oil Policy Committee, Petroleum Industry War Council and Secretary of the Group on American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries. Among his publications are *The Rise of American Oil* (1936 and 1948), *American Oil Operations Abroad* (1947), *Foreign Oil and the Free World* (1954) and *World Petroleum Policies* (1957). In addition he has edited *Our Oil Reserves* and writes a series called *Fathers of Industries*. As a special interest, he has undertaken a study of the guano trade, from which this article was an offshoot.

Index—The annual index to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is available to members or subscribers upon request and without charge. It is generally ready in March.

Historical Records—The Maryland Historical Society is always interested in collecting and preserving old family records, letters, portraits, books, photographs and other memorabilia. Before disposing of old things in the attic, please get in touch with us. Call MUlberry 5–3750.

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